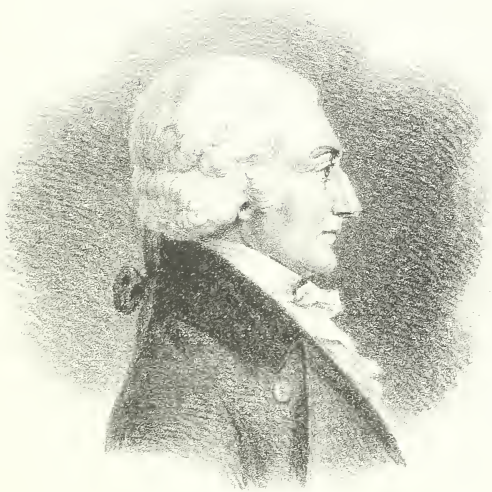
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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOLUME I.

20

SALEM:
Published for the Essex Institute.
BY HENRY WHIPPLE & SON,
1859.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. I. April, 1859. No. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

The principal object, that the founders of the Essex Historical Society had in view, at the organization of said Society, (which, in 1848, was incorporated with the Essex County Natural History Society, under the name of the Essex Institute,) was the collection and preservation of all authentic memorials relating to the civil history of the County of Essex, in the state of Massachusetts, and of the eminent men who have resided within its limits, from the first settlement; and thus to provide ample materials for a correct history of this part of our Commonwealth.

In furtherance of the plans contemplated by these early Pioneers in our local history, it is proposed to issue, occasionally, as circumstances may permit, a serial publication, to be called THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

This publication will contain abstracts of Wills, Deeds, and other documents which are deposited in the offices of the County of Essex; Records of Births, Marriages, Deaths, Baptisms, &c., gleanings from Town and Church Records, in said County; Inscriptions and Epitaphs from the old Burial Grounds; also, such other materials of a kindred nature as may be obtained from other sources.

Selections from the reports and communications of a historical character, which have been read at the meetings of the Essex Institute, will appear in its pages, or such abstracts of the same as may be deemed advisable.

Genealogical sketches of the families of the early settlers, will occasionally be inserted; several have already been prepared with much care and accuracy. Also, brief biographical notices of those individuals who have been identified with the prominent interests, or have held responsible positions in the public affairs of this section of the state.

Finally, such facts and statements as will tend in any manner to elucidate the history of this county, in all the various relations to society, will be duly chronicled.

It will be our earnest endeavor to make this publication the medium of

communication with the public, of all materials of the above-named character, which may come into our possession, provided that sufficient patronage be extended to authorize its continuance.—When we consider that this County is one of the earliest, settled by Europeans, in New England; that the various records extend back nearly to its first settlement; and that the descendants of these Pioneers, or their immediate followers, are now scattered over every section of this Union, it is reasonable to infer, that, if our work is faithfully executed, a liberal response will be given. We cordially invite the co-operation of all friends of historic research, in this undertaking.

LESLIE'S RETREAT.

Messrs. Editors: I have in my possession a humorous letter, written shortly after *"Leslie's Retreat,"* at the North Bridge in Salem, in 1775. I send you an exact copy of this letter for publication, if you think it of sufficient importance to print. It may be of interest to some persons, as showing that the excitement on the occasion alluded to, extended as far as the towns on the Merrimack River. B.

AMESBURY, March 1, 1775.

Honr'd Sir—An account of the Amesbury Expedition May not be disagreeable to you as you are a Son of Liberty.

having ben informed that a few Days ago a Small Party of Troops took a Sail & a Walk for an airing &c. It was suppos'd their designs was to seize some Military Stores at Salem. The alarm soon reach'd us & Set all the Country round us in motion. Happening at that (time) to be at dinner I saw upwards an hundred men from Various Parts of Merrimack river, moving towards the scene of action. Cyder being exceeding Scarce & the Last Season but an indifferent one for That, they Look'd pale & meagre & seemed to Tremble under the burden of their guns & bread & Cheese, which some ill Natured People attribfited to their Fear, but very unjustly: indeed had they really ben Cowards they Would not have had much reason to be afraid, because they knew the Soldiers must have done their Bussiness & returned to Boston, before they could reach Salem, and this they soon Learnt to be the Case on their first Halt, which was at a Tavern, when they meditated a return, which was Performed in martial order. But bloody Minded men as they were, they resolved not to go home without doing some execution, and therefore they valiently attacked and demolished several *Barrels*, whose Precious blood they drew and intirely exhausted. Flushed with Victory they made a much better appearance than when I first saw Them. However such another Victory would have brought them all to the ground, if not have ruined them, as it was they were scarce able to Crawl home; and most of them haveing disgorged the blood of the slain which they had so plentifnlly drank, returned as pale and feeble as they set out, and Look'd as Lank as tho' they had ben drawn thro' the river instead of Passing over it. So much for this military Expedition. Your Effectionate Son

WM. GALLISON.

Addressed—To

COLL. JOHN GALLISON

Marblehead.

THE HATHORNES. *Messrs. Editors:* I was present this morning at the Auction Sale at "Hollingworth Hill"; and in my rambles over the old place, I found in a book printed in 1610 a record of the births of William Hathorne's children, written by himself, on a blank leaf. I thought the item was worth saving, and have sent it to you for publication.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM HATHORNE.

Sarah,	born,	11th	1 mo.		1634—5.
Eleazer,	"	1st	6	"	1637.
Nathaniel	"	11th	6	"	1639.
John,	"	4th	6	"	1641.
Anna,	"	12th	10	"	1643.
William,	"	1st	2	"	1645.
Elizabeth,	"	22d	5	"	1649.

Salem, March 12, 1859. JIP

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

Bethiah Cartwright, 4*th mo.* 1640.

Will of Bethiah Cartwright of Salem, dated 2d May, 1640, mentions her sister, Elizabeth Capon, in Walderswich, in Sussex; Mary Norton, the wife of George Norton in Salem; John Jackson, son of John Jackson; Margaret, wife of John Jackson, of Salem; Elizabeth Pellen; Elizabeth Wickson.

Witnesses—Elizabeth Wickson, Thomas Warren.

(The above will was the first to be brought into Court.)

Samuel Smith, 10th *mo.*, 1642.

Will of Samuel Smith, of Enon, dated 5th October, 1642, mentions wife Sarah bequeaths her "My farme in Enon, with all the housen vpon it, as alesoe all the frutes vpon it, as corne, hemp, and the like, for har owne proper vse for the tearme of har lif, vpon consideration that she shall discharg me of that promise vpon maridge, which is vnto my Sunn, William Browne, fiftie pounds; alsoe that she shall giue vnto his two children, William and John Browne, 20 lb. betweene ym all, which shall be paid by my exequeters hereafter named." son Thomas, daughter Mary, his wife Sarah and son William Brown, ex'ors; and his son, Thomas Smith, supervisor of his will, proved 27th, 10th mo, 1642.

Inventory of above estate taken 18th, 9 mo., 1642, amounting to £395 09s 02d; returned and sworn to 28th, 10 mo., 1642.

Ann Scarlet, 4*th mo.*, 1643.

Will of Ann Scarlet, of — dated 2d 1st mo., 1639, mentions brother Samuel, in old England, her children Mary, Margaret and Joseph, her sister Dennis, her brother, James Lind, her brother Browning and his wife, her brother Joseph Grafton, admr.

John Sanders, 10*th mo.*, 1643.

Will of John Sanders, of Salem, dated 28 October, 1642, mentions son John Sanders, under age, his father Joseph Grafton. Goodman Hardie and Joseph Grafton, his adm'rs. His wife living.

Abr'm Belknap, 12 *mo.*, 1643.

Inventory of estate of Abraham Belknap of Lynn, who deceased the beginning of the 7th mo., 1643, taken 16th, 12 mo 1643 amounting to £53 10s 3d. Signed by Mary Belknapp.

Hugh Churchman, 5*th mo.*, 1644.

Will of Hugh Churchman of Lynn dated 4th, 4th mo. 1640, mentions William Winter and wife, and their son Josiah and daughter Hanna, both under age, widow Ambrose. Edward Burt, Mr. Whiten and Mr. Hobert. Wm. Winter, sole ex'or. Probated 9th 5 mo. 1644.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £24 9s 11d, returned by Hugh Burtt, Robert Driver.

John Mattox, 5*th mo.*, 1644.

Inventory of estate of John Mattox, who deceased 22d April, 1643, amounting to £14 03s 09d, returned by Goodm Edwards and Prince, 6th day 5th mo., 1644.

Thomas Payne, 5*th mo.*, 1644.

Will of Thomas Payne, dated 10th 2d mo., 1638, mentions his wife, son Thomas, a weaver, dan, Mary, two sons, is part owner of Ship Mary Ann, of Salem, his kinsman, Henry Bloomfield, son Thomas, Ex'or, and Mr. John Fiske, of Salem, Supervisor. Probated 10th 5th mo., 1644.

Robert Lewis 5*th mo.*, 1644.

Inventory of Robert Lewis, deceased 4th of May, 1643, amounting to £26 12s 8d; returned by Goodm Edwards and Prince, 6th of 5th mo., 1644.

Joan Cummins, 5th mo., 1644.

Will of Joan Cummins, of Salem, dated ———, mentions son John, Goodman Cornish, Mr. Noris, grandchildren Mary Bourne and Johannah Borne; to the Church twenty shillings, Goody Cotta, Goody Wathin, Goody ffield, Goody Broagham, Ann Shiply, Goodman Boyce, Goody Corning, John Browne's wife, Deborah Wathin, Dec Gott, and Goodman Horne, exors. Probate 10th 5th mo., 1644.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £33 0s 0d, returned by Jeffrie Massey, Jarvis Garford, George Eardry, 17th 3d mo., 1644.

Robert Pease, 6th mo., 1644.

Inventory of estate of Robert Pease, of Salem, amounting to £39 12s 6d, returned by Jo Alderman Myhill Shaflinge, 3d 11th mo., 1644, mentions his widow, Maria Pease, admx. 2 sons, John and Robert.

John Talby, 11th mo., 1644.

Inventory of the estate of John Talby, amounting to £28 18s 5d, returned by Peter Palfrey and William Lord, 11th mo., 1644.

Margery Wathen, 11th mo., 1644.

Inventory of the estate of Margery Wathen, widow, amounting to £39 13s 5d, returned by Peter Palfrey, Wm. Alfard and Nathaniel Porter, 28 6 mo., 1644. Deacons Charles Gott and John Horne appt by J. Endicott Govr to settle the estate, 3d 11th mo., 1644.

Isabel West, 11th mo., 1644.

Inventory of estate of Isabel West, amounting to £51 12s 0d, returned by Henry Skerry. Robert Cotta, and George Ropes, 2d 11th mo., 1644.

Jane Gaines, 5th mo., 1645.

Inventory of estate of Jane Gaines, of Lynn, amounting to £43 5s 7d, returned by Nicholas Brown and Edmund Needham, 10th 5th mo., 1645.

Robert Hawes' Wife, 7th mo., 1645.

Will of Robert Hawes' wife, testified to by witnesses William Googes, Katherine Darlin, Sarah Bartlett, who heard her on her death bed, on the 12th June, 1645, dictate her will, mentions the young child Thomas she had by Robt. Hawes, £20, her three sons, Robert Edwards and Matthew Edwards, Robert Hawes' daughter, Alise, his sons, Robert and Matthew, her sister, Ellen Hibbert, in Old England, two maids who tended in her sickness, viz: Kathrin Darlin aud Sarah Bartlett.— Probate 10th 7th mo., 1645.

Margaret Pease, 10th mo., 1645.

Will of Margaret Pease, widow, of Salem, dated 1st 7th mo., 1644, mentions grandchild John Pease, son of Robert Pease, Thomas Watson of Salem, to be foffeye of trust. Ann Isball testifies to taking great pains with her when sick; also that said Pease made a bequest to Edith Barber after her will was written.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £19 2s 8d, returned by John Alderman and John Bulfinch, 1, 11 mo., 1644.

Wm. Place, 2d mo., 1646.

Inventory of estate at Thomas Weeks's house, of William Place, deceased 14th 2d mo., 1646. Also an inventory of tools in hands of Richard Waters, returned 5th 6th mo., '46: acct of charges of Thomas Weeks against estate of Wm. Place, incurred during his last sickness, amounting to £3.

Wm. Googs, 4th mo., 1646.

Inventory of estate of William Googe, amounting to £28 11s 6d, returned by Nathaniel Handforth and Francis Lightfoot.

Ann, his widow, app'd admx., left 3 small children. Probate 30th 4th mo., 1646.

John Thorne, 6th mo., 1646.

Eliz'h Harwood, Margaret Jackson, and

Eliz'h Esticke, testify as to the will of John Thorne, that they heard him "say these woards vinsit that hee did giue unto Ann Pallgrave all his estate, as money, goods, aparell & debts, out of which sayd aparell it was the will of the sayd John that John Jackson, Junior, should haue his best Hatt, and further moure it was his will that James Thomas should haue something out of the estate, if the sayd Ann Paulsgrave so pleaseth." Dated 27th July, 1646. Probate 4th 6th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £27 16s 2d, returned by Jeffrey Massey, Geo. Emery and John Herbert, 4th 6th mo , 1646.

R. Bartholomew, 6th mo., 1646.

"Boston the 6th, 11th '45.

Brother Henry. heare in clossed is a notte of whatt estatte I have shippt with me, & what is here owinge to mee wth whatt I owe in England, wch is all I owe in the world as I know off these things only the bills of Ex., I haue consigned to Mr. Edward Shrimpton, in London, hee is ye brassers bro at Boston, to him I have wrighten yt in case God should not bringe me to London, yt he would these goods, pay my debts, and returne ye remaynder to you. I should haue been glad to haue seen you before I went, but if god should not returne mee againe, but take mee away by death, my desire is yt the returns of these goods come to yo'r hands, that they may be thus disposed of, viz: To your two children £40 apeace; to my bro William's 3 children, £20 apeace; to my mother, yr likinge, £10; to Mr. Gearringe, beinge very poore, £10; and the remaynder of my estate, bee it whatt it will, more or less, all that is mine I dessire may be equally devided betweene our bro Thomas, Abraham, and Sister Sara, (only what Jacob Barney owes to mee I give it to him,) but for my other debts, house, ground, &c., devide as before. This is my desire, and that I would haue done if God should please to take me away. I desire to cast myself only vppon him, and to rest myself only in the armes of his mercy in Christ Jesus, intreatinge of him to stay my soule there in the worst howers, even in death itself, vnto him I leave you with yors together with myself and all his, and rest, yor faithful and loving Brother,

RICHARD BARTHOLOMEW."

Superscription.—"To my Lovinge Brother, Henry Bartholomew." Probate 4th 6th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £286 9s 1d, returned by Wm. Hathorne and Jeffrey Massey, 4th 6th mo., 1646.

Francis Lightfoot, 10th mo., 1646.

Will of Francis Lightfoot, of Lynn, dated Dec. 10, 1646, mentions brother John Lightfoot, of London, in case he be living, or his children. Sister Isabell Lightfoot, living in "Linckhoonshire, in ffrestone, near olde Bostone," brother Idell, Samuel Cockett, Hannah Idell, Dorythe Whiting, Elizabeth Whiting, Samuel Cobit; his wife executrix. Probate 29th 10th mo., 1646.

Debts due.—To James Ayer, for keeping sheep and swine; to Mr. George Burrill; to Goodmn Mansfield: to Allin Breed.

Debts owning, by Samuel Bennet, Hugh Ally, Edward Ireson, John Witt.

Anne Lightfoot, widow, app'd admx. by the Court.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £51 0s 2d, returned by Nath. Ingalls, William Tilton, and Edward Burthum, 29th 10th mo., 1646.

Emma Mason, 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of the estate of Widow Emma Mason, deceased the 26th 3d mo., 1646, amounting to £26 16s 8d, returned by George Corwin and Walter Price, 30th 10th mo., 1646. Estate ordered to be divided, to the elder brother a double portion, and the remainder equally between the rest of the children.

Michael Sallows, 10th mo., 1646.

Will of Michael Sallows, of Salem, dated 14th 9th mo., 1646, mentions Micha Sallows,

his youngest son, his daughter Martha, son Thomas, Robert, John and Samuel, and Edward Wilson, his son in law, Edward Wilson, and Robert Sallows, ex'rs. Probate 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Edward Wilson and Robert Sallows having declined, Jeffrey Massy, John Jolhson and George Emery are appointed ex'rs in their stead. 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Mary Hersoine, 10*th mo.*, 1646.

Inventory of estate of Mary Hersoine, widow, of Wenham, deceased the 2d 7th mo., 1646, amounting to £21 17s 1d, returned by John Fairfield, Wm. Fiske, and George Norton, 29th 10th mo., 1646.

Geo. Pollard, 10*th mo.*, 1646.

Will of George Pollard, of Marblehead, dated 13th 3d mo., 1646, mentions Goodman Tyler of Lynn, John Hart, Jr., Christopher Nicholson, son of Edmond Nicholson, appoints Mr. Walton of Marblehead, ex'or. Mr. Mavcrick and Wm. Charles to assist Mr. Walton. Probate 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £66 4s 3d, returned 31st 10th mo., 1646.

Edward Candall, 10*th mo.*, 1646.

Inventory of estate of Edward Candall, deceased the 15th of November, 1646, amounting to £5 12s, returned by Wm. Ager and Peter Palfrey.

Joane Cummins, 11*th mo.*, 1646.

Inventory of Joane Cummins, amounting to £39 3s 4d, returned by Henry Skerry and George Emery, 14th 11th mo., 1646.

Mrs. Goodale and John Lowle, 5*th mo.*, 1647.

Adm'n granted on estate of Mrs. Goodale, unto Mr. Edward Rawson, Richard Kent and Henry Choot of Newbury, until order of Gen'l Court. Ad'm granted on estate of John Lowle, of Newbury, unto Wm. Gerrish, Richard Lowle, Richard Noyes, John Saunders, and Richard Knight, until order of Gen'l Court, 6th 5th mo., 1647.

Wm. Clarke, 5*th mo.*, 1647.

Inventory of estate of Mr. Wm. Clarke of Salem, amounting to £587 3s 2d, returned by Mrs. Katherine Clark.

John Fairfield. 5*th mo.*, 1647.

Will of John Fairfield, of Wenham, dated 11th 10th mo., 1646, mentions wife Elizabeth, Benjamin, youngest son, under age, son Walter, his cousin, Matthew Edwards, wife Elizabeth, sole executrix, and Mr. Henry Bartholomew and Robert Hawes, both of Salem, to be supervisors. Probate 7th 5th mo., 1647.—John Fairfield died 22d 10th mo., 1646.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £113 3s 7d, returned by Eliz'h Fairfield, widow, adm'x, 7th 5th mo., '47.

Charges against said estate—for the keeping of two children, the one 2 yr old, 5 mo., and the other 8 yrs old, 2 mos,, £10 ; for 1 child, old, 5 mos., £1.

The estate being divided into four parts is to each £9 12s 10d.

Christopher Young, 5*th mo.*, 1647.

Will of Christopher Young, of Wenham, dated 19th 4th mo., 1647, mentions three children, who are to be sent to Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, Old England, to his father in law, Mr. Richard Elvin, and his mother in law, Mrs. Elvin ; the said father and mother in law, with John Phillips, of Wenham, to be his feoffees of trust. Said Phillips to adopt his son if he be living; mentions his sisters, the wife of Joseph Young, and the wife of Thomas Moore, of Salem ; gives his great bible to his daughter Sarah, and his other bible to his daughter Mary, and a book entitled "God's all sufficiency to Christians," to his son ; gives a book entitled the "Deceitfulness of many Hearts" to his dear friend, Ezdras Read, appts. William Browne, of Salem, Ezdras Reed of Wenham, and the wife of Joseph Young, ex'rs

his friend Henry Bartholomew, supervisor.—Probate 8th 5th mo., 1647.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £5 11s, returned by Phineas Fiske, William Fiske, and Edward Spaulding, 7th 5th mo., 1647.

Luke Heard, 7th mo., 1647.

Will of Luke Heard, of Ipswich, as testified to by John Wyatt and Simon Tompson, who heard him make his will, to wit: To his eldest son, John, £10, to be paid at 21 years of age; to his son Edmond, £5, to be paid at 21 years of age; his books to his two sons, to be equally parted between them; "alsoe this is my will yt my two sonnes be brought up to writing and to reading, and then when they shal be fitt, to be putt forth to such trades as they shall choose," his wife Sarah, sole executrix. Probate 28th 7th mo., 1647.

Bond of Joseph Bigsby and Sarah Heard, widow, both of Ipswich, to the Court of Ipswich, in the sum of £30, dated 15th 10 mo., 1647. Signed Joseph Bigsby, the mark | of Sarah Heard. Witness—Margaret Rogers, John Rogers.

"The condition of this obligation is such, yt ye above bounden Joseph Bigsby and Sarah Hearde, (in case they proceed together in marriage intended,) if they or either of them shall doe or cause to bee done these things following:

1. That the two children of the said widow, wch were left unto her by her late husband, Luke Hearde, of Ipswich, Linnen weaver, be well brought up and due meanes be used to teach them to read and write well as soone as they are cappable,

2. That at the age of thirteen yeares at the furthest, they be put forth to be apprentices in such trades as Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, their Grandfather Wyat, and Ensigne Howlet, in writing under their hand, or any two of them in like manner shall advise unto, and the children like of.

3. That unto the said children be paid, at the age of one and twenty yeares, fifteen pounds given them by will of their father, viz: ten pound to the elder, at his time of one and twenty yeares, and five pounds to the younger when he shall bee at the like age; also that the bookes bequeathed them by their father be given them by equall division, according to his will.

4. That five pounds more be paid to the children of the said Sarah, (if living,) or either of them at her will and discretion, as shee shall see cause to divide it in even or unequall portions to them, or to give the whole to the younger in case the elder be better provided for.

5. That the said Joseph and Sarah shall doe, or admit to bee done, any such further order as the Court of Ipswich shall see meet to require upon the motion of the said advisors, for the securing of the forementioned dues to the children, as well as for the freing of the said Joseph and Sarah from any entanglements on the children's part, by reason of her exequetrixship, or otherwise from hence arising beside the direct and true meaning and intent of these conditions.

6. That whereas, there is a portion of land in Asington, in Suffolke, in England, wch shall bee the right of the said Sarah after the decease of her mother, (the tenor whereof is not certainly known to us,) if the said lands bee not entailed, then the said Joseph shall not claim any title hereunto by virtue of marriage wth the said Sarah, but the said Sarah shall have the whole and sole power to dispose of it, both the use and the gift of it, when and to whom she shall thinke meet.

That then this obligation shall bee void and of none effect, otherwise to stand and bee of force." Signed Joseph Bixby, the mark | of Sarah Heard. Witnesses—Margaret Rogers, John Rogers.

Richard Woodman, 10th mo., 1647.

John Gillow and Henry Bartholomew testify as to will of Rich'd Woodman, of Lynn, as follows: four pounds to the elders of Lynn,

fortie shillings apiece; all the residue of his goods he would give to Joseph Belknap, Richard Moore, and his master, John Gillow, equally divided. Appoints Joseph Belknap, exor. Probate 1st 10th mo., 1647.

John Pride, 10*th mo.*, 1647.

Inventory of estate of John Pride, of Salem, amounting to £88 16s.

Rich'd Bayley, 1*st mo.*, 1648.

Will of Rich'd Bayley, of Rowley, dated 15th 12th mo., 1647, mentions son Joseph Bayley, wife Edna, brother James Bayley, and Michael Hopkinson, his nephew, John Bayley, Thomas Palmer, his wife Edna ext'x. Probate 28th 1st mo., 1648.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £106 18s 10 d, returned by Joseph Jewett, Maximillian Jewett and Mathew Boyes, 27th 7th mo., 1648.

John Balch, 4*th mo.*, 1648.

Will of John Balch, of Salem, dated 15th May. 1648, mentions Annis his wife, eldest son Benjamin, second son John, youngest son Freeborn, wife Annis and son Benjamin ex'ors, and John Proctor and William Woodbury, overseers. Witnesses, Peter Palfrey, Nicholas Patch, Jeffrey Massey. Probate 28th 4th mo., 1648.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £220 13s 4d, returned by John Porter, Peter Palfrey, Jeffrie Massy, and Nicholas Patch.

John Jarret, 7*th mo.*, 1648.

Inventory of estate of John Jarret, of Rowley, amounting to £69 16s 2d, returned 7th mo.,1648.

Edmond Ingalls, 9*th mo.*, 1648.

Will of Edmond Ingalls, of Lynn, dated 28th August, 1648, mentions wife Ann, and appoints her ext'x, leaves Katherine Skipper with his wife. Son Robert, daughters Elizabeth, Mary, dau Faith wife to Andrew Allen, sons John, Samuel, dau Sarah wife to William Bitnar, son Henry, brother Francis Ingalls and Francis Dane, son in law, overseers. Probate 14th 9th mo., 1648.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £135 8s 10d, returned 14th 9th mo., 1648.

Allen Keniston, 10*th mo.*, 1648.

Will of Allen Keniston, of Salem, dated 10th 9th mo., 1648, mentions Capt. Hathorne £5, Capt. Davenport, £3, John Bayley, either a heifer or a cow, Mr. Curwin and Mr. Price, 20s apiece, his wife Dorothy to take the rest, and appoints her ext'x.

Gives to Mr. Norris 50s, to Mr. Sharpe, 40s, and to Mr. Bartholomew, 40s. Probate 27th 10th mo., 1648.

Wm. Southmead, 12*th mo.*, 1648.

Inventory of estate of William Southmead, of Gloucester, amounting to £43 10s. Probate 20th 12th mo., 1648.

George Varnum, 1649.

Will of George Varnum, of Ipswich, dated 21st 2d mo., 1649, mentions wife, son Samuel, dau Hannah (single,) appoints Thomas Scott and son Samuel, ex'ors.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £86 17s, 6d, taken 12th 8th mo., 1649.

Miles Ward, 7*th mo.*, 1650.

Inventory of estate of Miles Ward, of Salem, what debts to receive, and what debts to pay, related by himself, in Virginia, the 3d of the 1st mo., 1650.

"In England, given by his father as a leggacie, fortie pounde, to bee payd to the sd Miles by his brother, wch he both giueth and bequeath to his foure children." His wife living.

Thomas Cook, 7*th mo.*, 1650.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Cook, amounting to £40, returned by Wm. Bartholomew, and Wm. Varney.

Hugh Burt, 10*th mo.*, 1650.

Will of Hugh Burt, of Lynn, dated———, mentions his wife, and appoints her ext'x, 2 children, uncle and aunts in England. Probate 21st 10th mo., 1650.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £65 15s 11d, returned 31st 10th mo., 1650.

Edmund Lewis, 12*th mo.*, 1650.

Will of Edmund Lewis, of Lynn, dated 18th 11th mo., 1650, mentions eldest son, John Lewis, his wife to be sole ex'or, son Thomas Lewis. Probate 25th 12th mo., 1650.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £122 7s 6d, returned 25th 12th mo., 1650.

Joseph How, 4*th mo.*, 1651.

Will of Joseph How, of Lynn, dated 10th Feb., 1650, mentions his wife, daughter Elizabeth, mother How. Probate 26th 4th mo., 1651.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £107 10s 8d, returned 26th 4th mo., 1651.

John Osgood, 9*th mo.*, 1651

Will of John Osgood, of Andover, dated Apr. 12th, 1650, in his 54th year, born in 1595, July 23, mentions son John, Stephen, daughters Mary, Elizabeth, Johannah, daughter Sarah Clement, daughter Rakah, son John and wife, ex'or. Probate 25th 9th mo., 1651.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £373 7s, returned by Sarah Osgood, ext'x, 25th 9th mo., 1651.

James Boutell, 9*th mo.*, 1651.

Will of James Boutell, of Lynn, dated 22d 6th mo., 1651, mentions son James, daughter Sarah, appoints wife Alice ext'x., son John. Probate 26th 9th mo., 1651.

Inventory of above estate returned 26th 9th mo., '51.

Henry Birdsalls, 9*th mo.*, 1651.

Inventory of estate of Henry Birdsalls, amounting to £47 19s, returned 9th mo., 1651.

Walter Tibbetts, 1651.

Will of Walter Tibbetts, of ——, dated 5th 4th mo., 1651, mentions his wife, making her ext'x, grandchild Richard Dicke, daughter Mary Haskell, wife of Wm. Haskell, Joseph, son to Wm. Haskell, William, another son of Wm. Haskell, son in law Edmund Clarke, John and Joseph Clarke, Elizabeth Dicke, Elenor Luscombe, Salome Trill.

John Hardy, 4*th mo.*, 1652.

Will of John Hardy, of Salem, dated 30th 1st mo., 1651, mentions Roger Haskell, his son in law, and his 4 children, viz: John, William, Mark and Elizabeth, Elizabeth, daughter of my son Joseph Hardy, daughter Elizabeth Haskell, wife Eliz'h, and appoints her his ext'x. Probated 30th 4th mo., 1652.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £393 4s 6d, returned by Edmond Batter and Walter Price.

Thomas Warren, 7*th mo.*, 1652.

Deposition of Rebecca, the wife of Water Joy, aged about 27 yrs., the 17th 7th mo., 1652, says that Thomas Warren, who dyed with Prince Rupert, was cousin German to Wm. Sergent, of Glocester, and that there is none nearer of kin in this country, and I, being a little related, do desire Wm. Sergent may adm'r on the estate and be accountable.

before me, Increase Nowell.

I, John Hill, formerly living in Bristol, in Ould England, being hear, testifieth, That Thomas Wathing, son to Edmun Wathin, is cousin to Wm. Sergent, the said Wm. being his father's sister's son. This deponant further saith, that this Thomas Wathing went with Robert Gray in Captain Wal serves. 27th 7th mo., 1652, before Wm. Towens, Robert Tucker, Robert Elwell.

John Cross, 7*th mo.*, 1652.

Inventory of estate of John Cross, Ipswich, amounting to £382 5s 2d, returned by Richard Kimball, Sr., and Robert Lord, 7th mo., 1652.

Henry Somerby, 9th mo., 1652.

Petition of Judith Somerby, widow of Henry Somerby, Newbury, mentions son Daniel under 18 years, daughters Sarah and Eliz'h under 16 years—18th 9th mo., 1652.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £164 4s, returned by Edmund Greenleaf, Richard Browne, and Anthony Somerby, 30th 9th mo., 1552.

Wm. Averill, March, 1653.

Will of Wm. Averill of Ipswich, dated 3d 4th mo., 1652, mentions 7 children, Abigail his wife, appoints her ext'x. Witnessed by Andrew Hodges and Reginald Foster. Probate 29th March, 1653.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £50, returned by A. Hodges and R. Foster, 29th March, 1653.

Thomas Wathen, 4th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Wathen, amounting to £3 15s, returned by Zebulon Hill and Stephen Glover, both of Gloucester.

Geo. Cole, 4th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of George Cole, of Lynn, amounting to £32 0s 8d, returned by Edward Burthum, Nathaniel Handsoth, 28th 4th mo., 1653.

Wm. Stevens, 4th mo., 1653.

Will of Wm. Stevens, of Newbury, dated May 19, 1653, mentions eldest son John, son Samuel, both under 21 years, appoints Eliz'h his wife, ext'x—30th 4th mo., 1653. Died May 19, 1653.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £166 14s 6d, returned by Eliz'h Stevens, ext'x. Samuel Bitfield, George Little, Anthony Somerby, Francis Plummer, and Nicholas Noyes, appraisers. Taken June 13, 1653.

Wm. Tilton, 5th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Tilton, of Lynn, amounting to £128 4s 10d, returned by Francis Ingalls, Henry Collins and Edward Burthum.

Thomas Millard, 9th mo., 1653.

Will of Mr. Thomas Millard, of Newbury, declared in the presence of Wm. Colton and Ann, his wife, and John Butler, on the 30th day of August, A. D., 1653, mentions wife Anne and 2 children, Rebecca and Eliz'h, the children to have their share when they are married, and his wife not to hinder them, when they are eighteen yoars of age. Probate 25th 9th mo., 1653. Died Sept. 2, 1653.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £343 3s 4d, returned by Richard Towle and Anthony Somerby, 24th 9th mo., 1653.

John Robinson, 9th mo., 1653.

Inventory of estate of John Robinson, amounting to £57 8s 6d, returned by Elias Stileman and Richard Prince.

Wm. Bacon, 9th mo., 1653.

Will of Wm. Bacon, of Salem, as declared in presence of George Emery and Elizabeth Boyce, mentions son Isaac, under 21, if he dye before 21, his (Wm. B.) wife to have his share. Ann Potter, wife Rebecca Bacon.—Overseers, Joseph Boyse, Lawrence Southwick.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £184 16s, returned by Thos. Gardner, Sr., and Joseph Boyce, 9th 9th mo., 1653.

Abrah'm Warre, 1654.

Will of Abraham War, of Ipswich, married man, dated 22d day 2d month, 1654, mentions daughter Sarah and wife, to bring her up in the fear of the Lord, and to have a care of her as if she were her own, his wife ext'x. Witnessed by Roger Sampson, Wm. Simonds, John Warren.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £47 5s 1d.

Wm. Varney, March, 1654.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Varney, of Ips-

wich, amounting to £57 2s 8d; returned 30th 1st mo., 1654.

John Cooly, March, 1654.

Inventory of estate of John Coolye, of Ipswich, amounting to £66 14s 8d, returned by Edward Browne and Robt Lord, 28th 1st mo., 1654.

Richard Hollingworth, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of R. Hollingworth, of Salem, amounting to £365 14s 6d. returned by Walter Price and Samuel Archard, 25th 4th mo., 1654.

Dan'l Rolfe, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of Daniel Rolfe, of Ipswich, amounting to £73 17s 8d, returned by Daniel Thurston, John Gage, Robert Lord, prized 24 June, 1654, mentions father Humphrey Bradstreet, Goodman Weeks, of Sale m.

Geo. Burrill, 4th mo., 1654.

Will of George Burrill, Sr., of Lynn, dated 18th October, 1653, mentions sons Francis, John, free, George, free, his son Francis' child. Mr. Whiting, Mr. Cobbett, and Thos. Laughton, with his son Francis, to see the will fulfilled.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £848 10s, returned by Edward Burcham, Francis Ingalls, taken 21st 4th mo., 1654.

Wm. Wake, 4th mo., 1654.

Will of Wm Wake, dated 17th 2d mo., 1654, mentions daughter Kathrin Wake, in England, if she be living, and brother John Wake, in England. Hilliard Veren and Walter Price to be overseers. Witnesses, Thomas Smith and Jonathan Porter.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £60 8s 6d, returned by Edmond Batter and Elias Stileman, taken 22d 4th mo., '54.

Thos. Trusler, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Thos. Trusler, (died 5th 1st mo., 1654,) amounting to £188 12 8d, returned by Thos. Browne and Robert Moulton, Sr

Thomas Buxton, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Buxton, amounting to £52 8s, taken 5th 4th mo., 1654, returned by Thomas Gardner, Sr.. and Michael Shaflin.

Wm. Ager, 4th mo., 1654.

Will of Wm. Ager, of Salem, dated 3d 1st mo., 1654, mentions Joseph Ager, if he be living, if not, his (J. A.) son Benjamin to have his father's share, mentions son Jonathan, daughter Abigail Kibben, wife Alice, appoints his wife ext'x. Witness, Nathaniel Pickman, Tabitha Pickman, Elias Stileman, jr. Probate Nov., 1654.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £43 14s 8d, taken by Em'd Batter and Elias Stileman, 20th 4th mo., '54.

Thos. Scruggs, 4th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Scrugss, taken 24th June, 1654, amounting to £244 10s 2d, returned by Roger Conant, Nicholas Patch, and Wm. Dodge.

Deed of Margery Scruggs, widow, dated 24th 4th mo,, 1652, to her son in law, John Rayment, of all her right of dower in her husband Thomas Scruggs' estate, for certain valuable considerations, as set forth in said deed on file 4th mo., 1654. Witnessed by Roger Conant, Nicholas Patch, William Dodge.

Wm. Fiske, 7th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Fiske, of Wenham, taken 16th 7th mo., '54, amounting to £141 12s 6d, returned by Phineas Fiske, Austin Killam and Edward Kemp.

Geo. Williams, 9th mo., 1654.

Will of Geo. Williams, of Salem, dated 23d 7th mo., 1654, mentions his wife Marie, John eldest son, his dau Marie Bishop and her 2 children, sons Sam'l, Joseph and George, daughters Sarah and Bethia, his daughter Sa-

rah to have a double portion, "in respect of her infirmitie." His wife Marie and son John joint ex'ors. Thomas Norton, Henry Woodberry and Jeffrey Massy, overseers. Witnesses, John Horne, Elias Stileman, Jr., Thos. Cromwell.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £326 11s 11d, taken 18th 8th mo., 1654, by Elias Stileman, Jr., Rich'd Bishop.

To be Continued.

MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE INGERSOLL FAMILY IN SALEM.

In an old Manuscript book, running from 1685 to 1695, in which the writer, Capt. Samuel Ingersoll, of Salem, recorded many matters relating to the sale of his cargoes, disbursement of his voyages, and his own and his wife's birth, and their marriage, and the dates of births and names of his children, and many miscellaneous memoranda, I find the following formula for a Hair Restorer, which may perhaps be as useful as many of the present day nostrums. It is, however, defective, in that it does not specify whether the 'Metson' is for internal or external use, nor whether it is as efficacious for a woman as for a man.

"A Metson to make a man's hear groe when he is bald :

"Take sum fier flies and sum Redd wormes, and black snayls, and sum hune bees, and dri them, and then pound them to powder, and mixt them in milk or water."

On another page is the following record :

"Samuel Ingersoll was born the 6th day of October, 1658. Sarah, his wife, was born the 11th day of December, 1665, and we ware marred ye 28th April, 1684. Sarah, our Dafter, was born ye 12th October, 1686. Margaret was born ye 8th of April, 1690. Susana was born ye 4th Day of December, 1692."

This Samuel Ingersoll was the son of John, who was the son of Richard Ingersoll, or Inkersall, the first of the name in New England. He emigrated from Bedfordshire, England, in 1629, and settled at Salem. He was recommended to Gov. Endicott by Matthew Cradock, the Governor of the Company in England. He was granted a farm of 80 acres, at Riall Side, which descended to his sons John and Nathaniel. He was authorized in 1637, to establish a ferry over the North river, in Salem, and to charge one penny for every passenger. He died about 1644, Anne, his wife, was a member of the Church at Salem, 1634. After Richard's decease, she married John Knight, of Newbury, and died 1677: His children were George, Nathaniel, John, Sarah, Joana or Jane, Alice and Bathsheba.

George Ingersoll, son of Richard, was born in England, 1618, and came to Salem with his father. In 1655, he lived at Falmouth (now Portland,) where he built one or two mills, and in 1657 he was of Gloucester, where he had previously lived in 1652, and was a Representative to the General Court from that town in that year.

Alice, daughter of Richard Ingersoll, was married to Josiah Wolcott, Bathsheba to John Knight, Jr., of Newbury, Sarah to William Haynes and afterwards to Joseph Houlton, and Jane to Richard Pettingall.

Nathaniel, son of Richard Ingersoll, married Hannah Collins, and lived at Salem Village, and was Deacon of the church there.—He had one daughter who died before he did. He appears to have been a very worthy man and much respected in the community. He died early in 1718-19, his wife surviving him. By his will he left fifty shillings to the church at the village to purchase some Silver Cups for the more adorning the Lord's table, and he left two acres of land to the inhabitants of the village for a training place forever. The bulk of his property, after his wife's decease, he left to his adopted son, Benjamin Hutchinson, subject to the payment of some legacies to several of his relatives.

John Ingersoll, son of Richard, and father of Samuel, was born in England, 1625, and married Judith, daughter of Nathaniel Felton.

His children were John, Nathaniel, Ruth, Richard, Sarah, Samuel, Joseph and Hannah.

Samuel, the owner of the Manuscript, appears to have been a shipmaster, and his voyages seem to have been to Barbadoes, Newfoundland and Saltatudos, and from some entries of "great and little general;" he seems occasionally to have gone on fishing voyages.—He died about 1695, and his widow became the second wife of Philip English. Estate £538 15s.

As illustrating the relative value of land and stock, I give some items of the appraisement of the estate of Richard Ingersoll, as made by Townsend Bishop and Jeffrey Massy, October 4th, 1644:

7 Cows, £34; 2 Young Steers, £4; one Bull, £7; p oxen, £14: 2 horses and mare, and a Young Colt, £25, a Farm of 80 acres, £7; among other items was a Moose Skin Suit.

B. F. B.

A REVOLUTIONARY LETTER.

The following letter, written to Joshua Ward, Esq., of Salem, by a gentleman who afterwards held a conspicuous position as one of the most respected members of our community, exhibits the condition of our troops during the revolutiouary struggle, and on that account may not be devoid of interest.

A. N.

Camps Near West Point, Fe'y 12, 1782.

Dear Sir:—Poverity Drives me to troble you at this time that is to se if you will be so kind as to Creadet me for the Following artecels to it—for Linnen a nough for six shirts and 12 yards of Jane of a Dark Snuf Collar it Being for a Patton for two Pare of Overalls and two Wescoats—and a patton of White Ribed Stuff for a Wescoat & Briches such as would answer for Somer ware what you should think most Proper if you will Creadet me for the a bove artecels while I Come whome or while we draw wages you Shall be well Paid for the Same and you will greatley a Bleage me at this time—as I am entirley Destetute of money and am not able to get these things at this time without Some gentlemon will give me Short Creadet for them—and it will be very Difecolt for me to Do without them as I have the Command of the Light Infentry Company and our Regt is under marchen orders Seposed to go to Alboney and if we go into that Conterey most Sertain my dutey will Consist in Scouten the woods which will be very uncofetebel in Hot wather with thick Cloathen.

Theirfore I am under the absolute Nesety of asken this Faver of you for which I hope you will be Pleased to grant and you shall be wal Paid as soon as Posable.

Sir you must think that it is a hard thing that after I have Resked my life for upward of six years in the Publick Servis to Be Brought so Low as to not be able to By a Small matter of Somer Cloathen But it is in fackt the Case Probaps you will Say it is by Reason of my one enprudens but I think it is not the case. I engaged in the Servis in 1777 and Receaved the Nomenel Sum of my wages in old Continelton Dollars and all I have Reeceaved sens Jany 1st 1780 is Sixty Hard Dollars and Sixty New omision—it is true Some of the troops have Receaved some new omesion for the year 1781 but my Companey being at the Sotherd the money was Drawn for them for 3 months and it grue so Bad that the Coll. Saw Proper to Return the money again as it was of no Vallew in Virgeney where they were.

I hope you wont think I am a Blamen you or Eney other gentlemon for it, I am ondly menshenen to you our Hard forten—but it dont all Discorage mo in the least. I hant none what it was to Command one Dollar this 2 months ner I Dont no as I shall for six months to come but if I Can get a few shirts and a few thin cloathen I feal my Self Pritey wal Contented to be with out money for I am Detarmend as I have beene so long in the servis to se it out if I am even a bleage to fight with even a Shirt.

Sir, I must Beg your Parden for Trobelen you with so long a Scrall and Conclude Subscriben my Self your Most obedient and Humble Servent.

S—— A——.

N. B. Sir if you Should be Pleased to Send the a bove articels by the Barer Pleas to Send a bill of the Coast for I will Send the money as Soon as in my Power if I dont Come whome my Self. S. A.

their would want a Small matter of Corsen Linn for Pockets and waggon Linens.

RELICS OF A "PECULIAR INSTITUTION" IN SALEM.

Among my old papers, I find the following scraps, which, together with some other old matters of a quaint and curious nature, which I propose to send you from time to time for publication, serve to illustrate the manners and customs of our Ancestors in "ye quiete and peaceable Towne of Salem."

"Janeuary ye 4th 1710 Rescued of Wm. Pickering fifteen pounds in money being in full for an Indian Gerll sd Pickering boft of me in augustt Lastt. Fra's Holmes. p.

Salem, May 11, 1732.

This Day Sold to Mr. Myles Ward Jun'r A Negro Girle Caled Betty for fifty five pounds and took oblegation for the same. James Lindall.

Witness, James Lindall, Jun'r, Sarah Lindall, Tertius.

ANCIENT PULPIT NOTICES.

Messrs. Editors:—The certificate, of which I send you a copy, refers to the old custom of notifying Town Meetings, Trainings, and other secular occasions, at the Thursday Lecture in the Meeting House. It reminds us of a little incident which was said to have taken place in one of the churches in New Orleans one Sunday, a few years since. The officiating clergyman, at the close of his sermon, made the following announcement: "I am requested to give notice that there will be a Horse Race in the rear of this house, immediately after divine service. My hearers, I trust you will all be present." B.

Salem, March 19, 1859.

This may signify to whom it may concerne, that on February the 18th, 1701, being our Lecture day at Salem, Joseph Neal, being at meeting, continued quietly and orderly at the time of the publick worship, and read not the papyr (paper) of Notification for the Commoners' meeting till such time after the public worship as is usual with us, when training days are warned, or Town meetings appointed; and he was not forbid reading of it as I know, or any dissatisfaction signified against his reading of it, whilst he was reading of it. I was in the meeting all the while the papyr of Notification for the Commoners' meeting was reading, and can testify to the truth above written, if I should be calleed there to.

NICHOLAS NOYES.

Salem, March 30, 1702.

CURIOUS INDENTURE BETWEEN A MASTER AND SERVANT, IN 1713.

Messrs. Editors:—The following Indenture is, I think, worthy of being preserved in print, as a record of at least two by-gone institutions, viz: "bound servants," and the custom of teaching servants "to read a chapter well in the Bible." B. M. H.

This Indenture, Made the first Day of September, RRæ, Annæ Nunc Magnæ Brittaniæ Duodecimo annoq Dom., 1713, Witnesseth that Nicholas Bourguess, a youth of Guarnsey, of his own free and voluntary will, and bv and with the Consent of his present Master, Capt. John Hardy, of Guarnsey, aforesaid, Marriner, hath put himselfe a Servant vnto Mr. William English, of Salem, in the County of Essex, within the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Marriner, for the space of four yeares from the Day of the Date hereof, vntill the aforesaid Terme of four yeares be fully Compleat & Ended, During all which time the said Servant his said Master, his heires, Executors, administrators or assignees Dwelling within the province aforesaid, shall well and faithfully serve, their lawful commands obey; he shall not absent himselfe from his or their service without Leave or Lycense first had from him or them; his Master's Money, goods or other Estate he shall not Purloine, embezle or wast; at unlawfull Games he shall not Play; Tavernes or Alehouses he shall not Frequent; fornication he shall not Committ, nor Matrimony Contract; but in all things shall Demean himselfe as a faithfull Servant During the Terme aforesaid, and the aforesaid Master, on his part, doth for himselfe, his heires and assignees, Covenant, promise and agree to and with the said Servant; that he or they shall and will provide & find him with sufficient Meat, Drink, Cloathing, washing & Lodging, & in Case of Sickness, with Phisick, and attendance During the Terme aforesaid, and to Learn him to read a Chapter well in the bible, if he may be capable of Learning it, & to Dismiss him with two suits of Apparell for all parts of his Body—the one for Lord's Days, the other for working Days. In Testi-

mony & for Confirmation whereof the parties aforenamed have Interchangably set their hands and Seales the Day & Yeare first above written.

nicollas bourgaize, John Hardy.

Signed, Sealed & Delivered in presence of us,—Marg't Sewall, Jun'r, Susannah Sewall, Stephen Sewall, Not. pub. & Justice peace.

NARRATIVE OF THE PIRACY, AND PLUNDER OF THE SHIP FRIENDSHIP, OF SALEM, ON THE WEST COAST OF SUMATRA, IN FEBRUARY 1831, AND THE MASSACRE OF PART OF HER CREW: ALSO, HER RE-CAPTURE OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE MALAY PIRATES.

BY CHARLES M. ENDICOTT.

Read at a meeting of the Essex Institute, Jan. 28, 1858.

Before proceeding with the narrative, I will say a few words upon the character of the natives of this coast; the impression having gone abroad, and has even been stated in our pulpits and elsewhere, that the wrongs they have experienced at our hands have led to their bad faith and perfidy; and that *we, Americans*, are, after all, responsible for it. That this is a base calumny and has no foundation in truth, we shall first endeavor to show.

*[It may be proper perhaps to state in the outset, that the whole of the pepper coast is inhabited by emigrants from Acheen, the residence of the king, and the capital of his dominions; and although they are generally spoken of by us as Malays, are nevertheless a distinct race from them, speaking an unwritten language wholly unlike the Malay tongue, and differing from them in everything but their religion. The Acheenise have an imperfect and vague tradition, which savors more of fable than reality, that they are the descendants of a people, who, at a very remote period, emigrated from the Mediterranean, or, as they express it, from "Roma," (by which is meant, no doubt, a colony of Phenicians,) who, in the course of their extensive maritime enterprises, visited the northern part of this island by way of the Red Sea, and formed a settlement at Acheen, where intermarrying with the natives their posterity have ever since resided.

The coast from Acheen southward was originally peopled by Malays, but wherever the Acheenise have made settlements the aborigines have invariably been exterminated, either by secret assassination or poison: and by such and kindred foul practices they have possessed themselves of the whole of the pepper coast, and scarcely a real native Malay is now met with. All writers, for centuries past, have agreed in representing these people as the most subtle, crafty and treacherous of all the nations of the East. Our dealings with them *generally* (I will not say *always*—for bad and unprincipled men are *sometimes* found engaged in all trades,) but *generally* our dealings with them are such as of necessity they must be with a people from whom we can never obtain redress for any bad faith or dishonesty; who acknowledge no laws, have no tribunals of justice to which we can appeal for broken faith or violated contracts, and hold themselves bound by no ties of integrity or honor; for it would be as difficult to carry out equitably any compact made with them, if it should conflict with their interests, as it would be vain to expect mercy from the ferocious tenants of their forests. That they have at times been over-reached at their own play in their attempts to defraud and impose upon us, and that the measure they mete unto others has been measured to them again, will not be denied; and that our interests have also frequently suffered severely by their fraudulent practices, is equally certain. If we were not always on the alert to detect and counterbalance their frauds, and sometimes even to *anticipate them*, we should be obliged to abandon the trade altogether. But the *Munchausen* stories which are sometimes banded about, are often without any foundation in truth, and

*The matter contained between these brackets was published in the Boston Courier by the author of this account, in the summer of 1852.

are not unfrequently the offspring of the brain of individuals, who hope to gain in this way a character for great shrewdness in their dealings. But these trials at circumvention, in which they as often gain the advantage as lose it, do not certainly justify the piracy and murder of our countrymen trading upon their shores.

So far from becoming corrupt, perfidious and treacherous, by our intercourse with them, it will be found, by a little research, that these attributes in their characters existed, in as eminent a degree, upwards of two centuries ago, as at present; and setting aside the insignificance into which the king's power has dwindled, the accounts of them then would answer as well as any description which could now be given. In Mavor's historical account of early voyages, is one of Commodore Bieulieu's to the East Indies in 1619—22, undertaken for commercial purposes, under the auspices of the French government. Mons. Bieulieu is represented as an officer of distinguished character, both for the integrity of his conduct and the extent of his abilities.—The account he has given of his enterprise is universally admired, for candid statement, and easy, unaffected detail. He left France October 2, 1619, with three vessels under his command, and in the course of his voyage visited Acheen, to obtain the king's permission to traffic within his dominions. He describes his reception by the king, and the pomp and magnificence of his court at that time, and also details several instances of his majesty's savage cruelty in mutilating his subjects upon the most trifling pretext, to which he was a painful eye-witness. Finally, after a long negotiation, and submitting to much extortion, he succeeded in obtaining the desired permission, and, in his first attempts to avail himself of it, he gives the following account:

"The avarice of this monarch was not less detestable than his cruelty. No representations or presents could get the better of it. Notwithstanding I had procured a license to purchase pepper of his subjects, the first person who sold me any was laid in irons. At last I found it impossible to procure a grain, unless I consented to take it of him at his own price; and after I had agreed for three hundred bahars at nearly double its value, to my astonishment, I found he exacted seven per cent, by way of custom, for the very pepper I had purchased of himself. I afterwards contracted with a person who was distinguished for his knowledge of the laws of Mahomet, and even passed for a prophet himself, but finding some *black sand* among his pepper, I remonstrated. At last I found he weighed out the commodity *wet*, and although a complaint to the king might have procured me revenge, I chose rather to *submit* to *the loss* than enter into a *dispute* with this sanctified personage. *Wearied out at length with the impositions of the tyrant, and disgusted with the chicanery of his subjects*, I resolved to depart." This author also adds, "The inhabitants of Acheen are the most vicious of any on the coast. They are proud, perfidious and envious. With an outward show of being strict Mahometans, they are the most consummate hypocrites. If they only suspect that any one bears them any ill will, they endeavor to ruin him by false accusations." Commodore Bieulieu's account is corroborated by all the early English navigators, who visited Acheen under the direction of the East India Company, immediately after its first charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. The character of these people, since that period, has undergone no radical or material change; it is essentially the same in all respects, now as then. We omitted to remark that Commodore Bieulieu had one of the vessels under his command burnt by the natives, and all the plunder detained by the king. We think no candid, liberal and unprejudiced mind will seek far, or look deep, for motives to stimulate such a mercenary people to acts of violence on our ships whenever opportunities offer; and that no other incentives are needed than such as are found

inherent in their own breasts, that is, a love of plunder, to deeds of crime and outrage.]

This, let it be borne in mind, was their character in the year 1620, the very year of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, at Plymouth. One can therefore appreciate how far *we*, *Americans*, who had then no existence as a nation, and who had no intercourse with these people for 170 years after this period, are responsible for these traits of character, and how far *we* therefore have corrupted their integrity. Having now finished our preface, we will commence our narrative.

And here we would remark, in compiling this account, we have met with a serious obstacle, which has baffled all our skill to overcome—that is, how to avoid the too frequent and objectionable use of the little personal pronoun I, which must strike every reader of the narrative, in common with myself. We trust, however, the peculiar circumstances of the case will be considered and appreciated, and *that* charity extended to me which the subject seems imperatively to demand.

The ship Friendship, of this place, under my command, belonging to the Messrs. Pickman and Silsbees, sailed from Salem for the west coast of Sumatra, with a crew of seventeen men, including officers and seamen, on the 26th of May, 1830. The persons composing the ship's company, were as follows: Charles M. Endicott, Master; Charles Knight, 1st Mate; John Barry, 2d Mate; William Bray, Carpenter; George Chester, Algornon Warren, John Davis, John Massey, George Collins, William Parnell, Gregorie Pedechie, Charles Converse, Philip Manning, John Patterson and John Byrne, Seamen; William Francis, Steward; George Migill, Cook; and after the usual succession of fair winds and foul, calms and storms, arrived safely at her place of destination on the 22d September following. We touched first at the port of Qualah Battoo, (i. e., in English, Rocky River,) in Lat. 3° 48m North. This place is inhabited by natives from the Pedir Coast, on the north of the island, as well as Acheenese, and is therefore governed jointly by a Pedir and Acheenise Rajah. We remained here for the purposes of trade, until the 5th of November following, at which time, having obtained all the pepper of the old crop, and the new pepper not coming in until March or April, we left that port, and in prosecution of our voyage visited several others, and finally returned to Pulo Kio, (i. e., in English, Wood Island,) about two miles from Qualah Battoo, the latter part of January, 1831, intending to remain there until the coming in of the pepper crop.

One bright moonlight night, shortly after our arrival at this place, I was awakened by the watch informing me that a native boat was approaching the ship in a very stealthy manner, and under suspicious circumstances. I immediately repaired on deck, and saw the boat directly in our wake under the stern, the most obvious way to conceal herself from our observation, and gradually approaching us with the utmost caution, without the least noise or apparent propelling power, the oars being struck so lightly in the water that its surface was scarcely ruffled. Having watched their proceedings a few minutes, we became convinced it was a reconnoitering party, sent to ascertain how good a look-out was kept on board the ship, and intending to surprise us for no good purpose, to say the least, if they were not discovered. We therefore hailed them in their own dialect, asking them where they came from, what they wanted, and why they were approaching the ship in such a stealthy, tiger-like manner. We could see that all was instantly life and animation on board her, and after a few moments we received an answer that they were friends from Qualah Battoo, with a load of smuggled pepper, which they were desirous to dispose of to us. We however, positively forbade them to advance any nearer the ship, or to come along side; but, after considerable discussion, we at length gave our consent for them to come *abreast* the

ship at a respectful distance, and we would send some of our own men on board to ascertain if their story was correct; and if there was nothing suspicious about her, on their giving up their side arms we would rig a whip upon the main yard, and in this way take on board their pepper, and allow one man to come on board ship to look after it. All our own crew had, in the mean time, been mustered and armed, and a portion of them placed as sentinels on each side the gangway. In this manner we passed on board some 50 or 60 bags of pepper. We were afterwards informed by the 2d officer, that while this was going forward, the chief officer, who subsequently lost his life, was secretly scoffing at these precautions, attributing them to cowardice, and boasting he could clear the decks of a hundred such fellows with a single handspike. This boat, we subsequently ascertained, was sent by a young man named Po Qualah, the son of the Pedir Rajah, for the express purpose which we had suspected; the pepper having been put on board merely as an excuse in case they should be discovered. It was only a sort of parachute, let off to see from what quarter the wind blew, as a guide in their future evil designs upon us. Ascertaining, however, by this artifice, that the ship was too vigilantly guarded, at least, in the night, to be thus surprised, they set themselves at work to devise another plan to decoy us to Qualah Battoo, in which, I am sorry to say, they were more successful.

A few days after this occurrence, a deputation was sent to invite us to Qualah Battoo, representing that the new crop of pepper was beginning to make its appearance, and they could now furnish us with from one to two hundred bags per day, and would no doubt be enabled to complete loading the ship in the course of forty days. Being in pursuit of a cargo, and having been always on friendly terms with the natives of this place, who I did not consider worse than those of other parts of the coast, and feeling beside some security from the fact that we had already been warned by some of our old friends not to place too much confidence in any of them, all of whom, in consequence of the low price of pepper, and from various other causes, were actually contemplating piracy along the whole coast, whenever a good opportunity should offer, we considered, with a suitable degree of caution, the danger was but trifling, and therefore concluded a contract with them, and proceeded at once with the ship to Qualah Battoo. Strict regulations were then established for the security and protection of the ship. Two of the most important were, that, in the absence of the captain, not more than two Malays were to be permitted on board at the same time; and no boats should be allowed to approach her in the night time upon any pretence whatever, without calling an officer.—Then mustering all hands upon the quarter deck, I made a few remarks, acquainting them with my apprehensions, and impressing on their minds the importance of a good look-out, particularly in the night, and expressed my firm conviction that vigilance alone would prevent the surprise and capture of the ship, and the sacrifice of all our lives; that the words of Po Adam, which they had so often heard him utter, "*must look sharp*," had no idle meaning. Having thus done all we could to guard against surprise, and put the ship in as good a state of defence as under the circumstances was possible; keeping her entire armament in good and efficient order, and firing every night an eight o'clock gun, to apprise the natives that we were not sleeping upon our posts, we commenced taking in pepper, and so continued for three or four days, the Malays appearing very friendly, and everything went on satisfactorily.

On Monday, February 7, 1831, early in the morning, while we were at breakfast, my old and tried friend, Po Adam, a native well-known to traders on this coast, came on board in a small canoe from his residence at Pulo Kio, in order to proceed on shore in the ship's

boat, which shortly after started with the 2d officer, four seamen and myself. On our way Po Adam expressed much anxiety for the safety of the ship, and also an entire want of confidence in Mr. Knight, the first officer, which, however, I then considered unfounded, remarking in his broken English, "*he no look sharp, no understand Malay-man.*" On being asked if he *really* believed his countrymen would dare to attack the ship, he replied in the affirmative. I then observed to the 2d officer, it certainly behooved us, the boat's crew, who were more exposed than any of the ship's company, to be on our guard against surprise, and proposed when we next came on shore, to come prepared to defend ourselves; but did not think the danger sufficiently imminent to return to the ship for that purpose at the present moment. When we reached the landing we were kindly received, as usual,—a man who was a stranger to me, of rather prepossessing appearance, pretended to be very much pleased with my knowledge of the language, for which he was profuse in his compliments, and, to hear me speak it, followed close upon my footsteps through the bazars, and was very assiduous in his attentions.—Such circumstances being, however, of almost daily occurrence, there was nothing particular in this to excite suspicions of any evil intent, and we were soon upon easy and familiar terms. The natives were bringing in pepper very slowly; only now and then a single Malay would make his appearance with a bag upon his head, and it was not until nearly 3 o'clock in the afternoon that sufficient was collected to commence weighing; and between 3 and 4 o'clock the first boat started from the shore. The natives were, however, still bringing in pepper, with a promise of another boat-load during the day. This was, however, a mere subterfuge to keep us on shore. As the boat was passing out of the river, I noticed her stop upon one of the points, and believing it the object of her crew to steal pepper, and secrete it among the neighboring high grass, two men were sent down to look after them. They soon returned, remarking there appeared to be nothing wrong. The ship lay about three-fourths of a mile from the shore, and between the scale-house and the beach there was a piece of rising ground, so that standing at the scales we could just see the ship's topgallant yards. I had observed a vessel in the offing in the course of the day, apparently approaching this place or Soosoo, and, being at leisure, walked up towards the beach to ascertain if she had hoisted any national colours. The instant I had proceeded far enough to see our ship's hull, I observed the pepper-boat, which was at this time within two or three hundred feet of her, as she rose on the top of the swell, appeared to have a large number of men in her. My suspicions were instantly aroused that there was something wrong, and I returned to inquire into the circumstance of the men who were sent down to the mouth of the river. I was *then* informed, for the first time, as they approached the boat 6 or 7 Malays jumped up from the high grass and rushed on board her; and as she passed out of the river, they saw her take in from a ferry boat, that was passing, about the same number; but as they all appeared to be "*youngsters*," to use their own expression, they did not think the circumstance of sufficient importance to mention it. They were reprimanded for such an omission of duty, accompanied with the remark, "your youngsters, as you call them, will, I suspect, be found old enough in iniquity, at least, to capture the ship, if once admitted upon her decks." The words of Po Adam, that morning, that "*Mr. Knight no look sharp, no understand Malay-man*," now struck me with their full force and a fearful foreboding, and I appealed to Mr. Barry, the 2d officer, for his opinion as to what would be Mr. Knight's probable course, remarking "*he certainly will not disobey his orders.*" Mr. Barry, however, expressed his fears as to the result, remarking he knew so well the contempt which Mr. Knight entertained for these people, "that he will probably conclude your pre-

cautions to be altogether unnecessary, and that he can allow them to come on board with impunity, without your ever knowing anything of the circumstance, and no harm will come of it." This view of the case certainly did not have the effect, in any degree, to allay my anxiety, and I observed, "if your predictions prove correct, the ship is taken;" but concluding it to be altogether too late for us on shore to render any assistance to the ship, and still clinging to the hope that Mr. Knight would, after all, be faithful to his trust, Mr. Barry and two men were directed to walk up towards the beach without any apparent concern, and watch the movements on board. I should have remarked, on my own way up to the beach, just before, I passed near a tree, under the shade of which a group of 10 or 12 natives were apparently holding a consultation, and, as I approached, all conversation ceased. The object of this meeting, as I was afterwards informed, was to consider whether it would be better to kill us *before* attempting to take the ship, or *afterward*; and the conclusion arrived at was to be sure of the ship *first*, the killing of us appearing to them as easy, to use their own simile, as cutting off the heads of so many fowls: the manner *how* had already been decided, the time *when* was all there was to be considered,—a native having been already appointed, and the price fixed for the assassination of each of the boat's crew. The price set upon my life was 1000 dollars, for the 2d officer's, 500 dollars, and for each of the seamen 100 dollars. It was the business of my officious friend, whom I met that morning on landing, to bestow that delicate little piece of attention upon me.

As soon as Mr. Barry had reached an elevation where he could fairly see the ship's hull, I noticed a quick convulsive movement of his limbs, and that he turned short round, and walked, without hastening his steps, directly towards me;—passing me, however, without discovering any emotion, our eyes not being even directed towards each other, and said, "there is trouble on board, Sir,"—to the question "What did you see?" he replied, "Men jumping overboard." Convinced at once, of our own perilous situation, and that our escape depended on extremely cautious and judicious management, I answered "We must show no alarm, but muster the men, and order them immediately into the boat" At this moment we did not know, of course, whether it was the natives or our own crew who were jumping overboard, there was nothing certain further than that the ship was undoubtedly attacked, and we on shore must look out for our lives.—The men got into the boat in their usual deliberate manner, and winded her head round towards the mouth of the river, when Philip Manning, one of the crew, who had yet no suspicion of what was going on, reminded me I had not locked the chest containing the weights. And here I ought, perhaps, to remark that in this trade the weights are as much a matter of contract and bargain as the price of pepper, and for the better satisfaction of both parties I had recently adopted the plan of locking up the weights over night in a chest kept on shore for that purpose. This was in the first place to prevent the Malays taking out the lead, and in the next, convincing them that we did not violate our part of the contract by putting any secretly in. Such is the mutual want of confidence manifested in our dealings with each other on this coast.

Everything being now in readiness, we pushed off from the shore, the Malays having no suspicion of our design, believing we intended to remain for the other boat load of pepper, and thinking it to be our intention, by our apparently unconcerned manner, to cross the river for a stroll in the opposite Bazar, as was our frequent custom. The moment the boat's stern had left the bank of the river, Po Adam sprang into her in a great state of excitement, to whom I exclaimed, "What! do you come too, Adam?"—he answered "You got trouble, captain, if they kill you, must kill Po Adam first." He suggested we should immediately steer the

boat as far as possible from the western bank of the river, which was here not more than one hundred feet wide, when I remarked to the boat's crew, "now spring to your oars my lads for your lives, or we are all dead men." Adam exhibited the utmost alarm and consternation, encouraging my men to exert themselves, and talking English and Acheenise both in the same breath,—now exclaiming in Acheenise, di-yoong di yoong hi !" and then exhorting them to "pull, pull trong !" The men worked with a will at their oars, and what with their efforts and the assistance of a favourable current, we made rapid progress out of the river. As we doubled one of the points we saw hundreds of natives rushing with wild impetuosity towards the river's mouth, brandishing their weapons, and otherwise menacing us.—Adam upon seeing this was struck with dismay, and exclaimed "if got blunderbuss will kill all,"—but luckily they were not provided with that weapon, and we therefore escaped its dangers. A ferry-boat was next discovered with ten or twelve Malays in her, armed with long spears, evidently waiting to intercept us. I ordered Mr. Barry into the bows of the boat, and with Adam's sword to make demonstrations of being armed, and also to *cun* the boat in such a manner as to run down the ferry boat, which I concluded was our only chance to escape. Our own boat being a pinnace of some twenty-five feet in length, high out of water, and the ferry boat a long low canoe, the thing appeared quite feasible. With headlong impetuosity we were rushing towards our antagonist, nerved with the feeling of desperation. The distance between us was rapidly diminishing. With profound stillness and breathless anxiety we awaited the moment of collision, like a fated boat over the cataract of Niagara, with scarcely one chance in a thousand to escape death. The points of their pikes could be plainly seen. Already I observed Mr. Barry with his sword elevated, as if in the act of striking. But when we had approached within some twenty feet, her crew all at once, as if by the direct interposition of Providence, appeared completely panic struck, and made an effort to get out of our way. It was, however, a close shave,—so close that one of their spears was actually over the stern of our boat, which with my hand, as we passed, I pushed aside. It was long before the countenances of those men, as they sat resting on their spears, faded from my recollection, so indelibly were they engraven on my memory. They often visited me in my dreams, and disturbed even my waking hours. We are not at all inclined to a belief in special providences, but this incident to my mind is as remarkable as the cessation of surf, related by Riley, which enabled him to escape from the shore out of the hands of the Arabs on the West Coast of Africa.—The Malays on the last point of the river as we passed, appeared perfectly frantic at our escape, and ran into the water up to their armpits, in their endeavors to intercept us, waving their swords above their heads, and shouting at the tops of their voices. Having now run the gauntlet, all danger for the present was passed, and during the breathing spell which it allowed us, we quietly proceeded the remainder of the distance out of the river without any further incident or molestation. We had now time calmly to contemplate the scene through which we had just passed, with hearts, I trust, grateful to God for his kind protection and safe guidance in the midst of its perils.—This was the part of their plan, otherwise well conceived, which was defective,—they had taken no measures to prevent our escape from the shore, not believing for a moment that our lives were not at their disposal, unprotected and defenceless as they saw us.

The whole scene would furnish an admirable subject for the pencil of the artist,—the fragile boat running the gauntlet, and forcing her way through the narrow passage out of the river—maugre the efforts of hundreds of Malays who are endeavoring to intercept her; the neighboring bazar and the points of the river crowded with natives, many of whom are actually in the water up to their arm-pits, while others are running to and fro, and all in a state o

the greatest excitement, vociferating to the extent of their voices. The doomed ship laying tranquilly in the roads, with sails furled, and a pepper boat alongside, with a multitude of natives in every part of her, and none of her own crew visible, with the exception of a man on the top gallant yard, and some 10 or 12 heads just even with the surface of the water. High mountains in the back ground densely clothed with wood, and a long range of low thatched houses, with here and there a few cocoanut trees surrounding them, and a sandy beach of miles in extent, on which the surf is beating most furiously. Its well drawn sketch could not fail to gratify the lovers of marvellous and thrilling adventures.

Having thus cleared the river, which was like passing the limits of the valley of the shadow of death, our first attention was directed to the the ship, and judge of our feelings when, after a moment's observation, we were convinced she was captured. None of our crew, except one man aloft on the fore top gallant yard, could anywhere be seen, and the pirates were conspicuous in every part of her, waving their cloths, and making evident signals of success to the natives on shore. Without consideration my first impulse was to propose boarding her, and was very properly reminded that if the ship with her full armament had been taken with so many of her crew on board, we could do comparatively nothing in our unarmed state, towards her recapture; and the idea was as soon abandoned as entertained,—if, indeed, it was ever seriously entertained at all.

We however continued to row up towards the ship until we could see the Malays pointing her muskets at us from the quarter deck, and that they appeared also to be clearing away the stern chasers, which we knew to be loaded to their muzzles with grape and langrage, which would be exceedingly unwelcome visitors in our defenceless situation to encounter. At this moment, three large Malay boats crowded with men, were seen coming out of the river, and to pull directly towards us. While debating what to do, and whether it would not be best to proceed at once to Muckie for assistance, which was some 25 miles distant, where we knew two or three American vessels were laying, heavy clouds commenced rolling down over the mountains, and the rumbling of distant thunder, and sharp flashes of lightning, gave sure indications that the land wind would be accompanied with deluges of rain, rendering the night, at least the first part of it, one of Egyptian darkness, in which it would be almost impossible to grope our way safely along shore towards that place. Under these discouraging prospects, Po Adam advised us to proceed to Pulo Kio, and take shelter in his fort. Submitting ourselves almost wholly to his guidance, we at once pulled away for that place, but before we reached it his heart failed him, and he represented his fort as not sufficiently strong to resist a vigorous assault, if one should be made, and would not therefore be responsible for our lives,—but suggested we should proceed to Soosoo, which being some two miles further remote from the scene of the late outrage, he concluded we might be safe. We accordingly proceeded for Soosoo river, which we had scarcely entered when Po Adam's confidence again forsook him, and he advised us not to land. We therefore only filled a keg with water from the river and came out over the bar, intending to make the best of our way to Muckie, having more confidence, after all, in the elements, than in the treacherous specimens of humanity with which we were then surrounded.

The night now came on dark and lowering, and just as we had left Soosoo river, the land wind, which had been some time retarded by a strong sea breeze, accompanied with heavy thunder and torrents of rain, overtook us, and came pelting down upon our unprotected heads. Sharp flashes of lightning occasionally shot across the gloom, which rendered the scene still more fearful. We double manned two of the oars with Mr. Barry and Po Adam, and I did the best I could to keep the boat's head down the coast, it being impossible to see any object on shore, or even to hear the surf, by which we could judge our distan

from it. Having proceeded in this way until we began to think ourselves near North Tallapow, off which was a dangerous shoal, it became a matter of concern how we should keep clear of it. We frequently laid upon our oars and listened, to ascertain if we could hear it break, but the noise of the elements rendered it impossible. Directly we felt the boat lifted upon a high wave, which we knew immediately must be the roller upon this shoal, which passing, broke with a fearful crash some three or four hundred feet from us. It is almost unnecessary to say, had we been that distance nearer the shore, it would have been the last known of the Friendship's boat's crew, as the boat would undoubtedly have been dashed to pieces on the shoal, and all on board her must have perished. But through the kind protection of an all-merciful God, we were preserved from such a fate.

Having thus providentially passed this dangerous spot in safety, the weather began to clear a little, and here and there a star made its appearance, and looked compassionately down upon us. The off shore wind, too, became more steady and the rain ceased. To clear the boat of the quantity of water which had rained into her, now occupied our first attention, which, however, we found a slow and tedious process, as we had nothing larger than a tin pot to bail with. We also commenced ripping up some gunny bags which were left in the boat, and tying them together for a sail, under which we found the boat bounded along quite briskly; we therefore laid in our ours, all hands being now quite exhausted, and proceeded in this way the rest of the distance to Muckie, where we arrived at about 1 o'clock, A. M. We found here the ship James Monroe, Porter, of New York, brig Gov. Endicott, Jenks, of Salem, and brig Palmer, Powers, of Boston. On approaching the roads, we were first hailed from the Gov. Endicott, and to the question "What boat is that?" the response was, "the Friendship's, from Qualah Battoo," which answer was immediately followed with the question "Is that *you*, Capt. Endicott?" "Yes," was the answer, "with all that are left of us." It was but the work of a moment to clamber up her sides on to her decks, where we were instantly surrounded with captain, officers and crew, all anxious to learn the particulars of our sad misfortune. We could tell them only of our own adventures; the circumstances of the capture of the ship, and the massacre of part of her crew, were to be hereafter revealed.

Having communicated with the other vessels, their commanders repaired on board the Gov. Endicott, when it was instantly concluded to proceed with their vessels to Qualah Battoo, and endeavor to recover the ship. These vessels were laying with most of their sails unbent, but their decks were quickly all life and animation, and the work of bending sails proceeded so rapidly that before 3 o'clock all the vessels were out of the roads and heading up the coast towards Qualah Battoo. Both the land and sea breeze were light throughout the day, and it was not until about the middle of the afternoon that we sighted the ship. Every arrangement was now made for her capture. It was our intention to throw as many of the crews of the Gov. Endicott and Palmer as could be prudently spared, on board the James Monroe, being the largest vessel, and proceed with her directly into the roads, and lay her alongside the Friendship, and carry her by boarding,—the other vessels following at a short distance. But as soon as we had completed all our arrangements, and while we were yet several miles outside the port, the sea breeze began to fail us, with indications that the land wind, like that of the day before, would be accompanied with heavy rain. We however stood on towards the place until the off shore wind and rain reached us, when all three vessels were obliged to anchor, and suspend further operations until the next morning. Before dark I had taken the bearings of the ship by compass, intending, if circumstances favored it, to propose a descent upon her during the night; but the heavy rain continued the most part of it, and we were baffled

in that design. The first indications of daylight found us upon the decks of the Monroe, watching for the ship, which, in the yet indistinct light, could not be discerned in the roads. The horizon in the offing was also searched unsuccessfully with our glasses; but as objects became more distinct we at last discovered her close in shore, far to the westward of her late anchorage, inside a large cluster of dangerous shoals, to which position, as it then appeared, the Malays must have removed her during the night. What I now most apprehended was that they had got her upon one of the reefs, and if so, her recapture would have been useless; but when the day had sufficiently advanced to enable us with our glasses to make a careful examination of her position, to our great relief we ascertained this was not the case. One thing was however, certain, we could not carry out our original design of running her alongside in her present situation; the navigation would be too dangerous for either of the ships, and must therefore be abandoned. At this moment we saw a Prou, or Malay trading craft, approaching the roads from the westward, with which I communicated, and of which I hired a canoe, and sent a messenger on shore to inform the Rajahs if they would give the ship up peaceably to us we would not molest them, otherwise we should fire both upon her and the town. This was considered the most advisable course; all the fleet being in pursuit of cargoes, some apprehensions began to be entertained lest hostilities should be the means of breaking up their voyages, or at least vitiating their insurance. After waiting considerable time for the return of the messenger, during which we could see boats passing close in shore from the ship loaded with plunder, we concluded this delay was only a subterfuge to gain farther time for that purpose, and we fired a gun across the bows of one of them, which arrested her progress. In a few minutes the canoe which we had sent on shore was seen putting off. The answer received, however, was one of defiance,—"that they should not give her up so easily, but we might take her *if we could*." All three vessels then opened their fires upon the town and ship, which was returned by the forts on shore, the Malays also firing our ship's guns at us. The first shot from one of the forts passed between the masts of the Gov. Endicott, not 10 feet above the heads of the crew, and the second struck the water just under her counter. This vessel had been kedged in close to the shore within point blank shot of the fort, with springs upon her cable, determined on making every gun tell. The spirited manner in which their fire was returned soon silenced this fort, which mounted 6 six-pounders and several small brass pieces. It appeared afterward, by the testimony of one of my crew, who was confined here, that the firing was so effectual that it dismounted their guns and split the carriages. The other two forts, which were situated at a greater distance from the beach, continued firing, and no progress was made towards recapturing the ship, which, after all, was our only object. It was now between 3 and 4 o'clock; and the land wind began to make demonstrations of another rainy night, and it was certain if the Malays were allowed to hold possession of the ship much longer, they would either get her on shore, or burn her. We then held a council of war on board the Monroe, and concluded to board her with as large a force as we could carry in three boats; and that the command of the expedition should of course devolve upon me. Just at this juncture the ship ceased firing, and we observed a column of smoke rise from her decks abreast the mainmast, and that there appeared to be great confusion on board. We subsequently ascertained that they blew themselves up by setting fire to an open keg of powder, from which they were loading the guns, after having expended all the cartridges. Everything being in readiness for our expedition, we pushed off. The ship lay with her port side towards us, and, with the intention of

getting out of the range of her guns, pulled to the westward at an angle of some 33 deg., until we opened her starboard bow, when we bore up in three divisions for boarding, one at each gangway, and the other over the bows. We were now before the wind, and two oars in each boat were sufficient to propel them; the rest of the crew, armed to the teeth with muskets, cutlasses and pistols, sat quietly in their places, with their muskets pointed at the ship as the boats approached. The Malays now, for the first time, seemed to comprehend our design, and as we neared the ship, were struck with consternation, and commenced deserting her with all possible dispatch, and in the greatest confusion. The numerous boats of all descriptions, alongside, were immediately filled, and those who could find no other means of conveyance, jumped overboard and swam for the shore. The beach was consequently lined with boats, and the Malays took to the jungle with the greatest precipitation, so that when we reached the ship, there was, to all appearance, no one on board. Still fearing some treachery, we approached her with the same caution, and boarded her, cutlass in hand, in the same order we should have done had we known her to be full of men.—Having reached her decks, and finding them deserted, before we laid aside our arms a strict search was instituted throughout the ship, with instructions to cut down any who should be found, and give no quarter. But she was completely forsaken,—not a soul on board. Her appearance, at the time we boarded her, defies description; suffice it to say, every part of her bore ample testimony of the scene of violence and destruction with which she had been visited. That many lives had been sacrificed, her blood-stained decks abundantly testified. We found her within pistol-shot of the beach, with most of her sails cut loose, and flying from the yards. Why they had not succeeded in their attempts to get her on shore, was soon apparent. A riding turn in the chain around the windlass, which they were not sailors enough to clear, had no doubt prevented it. There had been evidently a fruitless attempt to cut it off. While we were clearing the chain, and preparing to kedge the ship off into the roads, the Malays, still bent upon annoying us, and unwilling to abandon their prize, were seen drawing a gun over the sandy beach upon a drag, directly under our stern, which, having fired, it jumped off the carriage and was abandoned. The rain, with the land wind, now set in again; it was, however, the work of but a short time to kedge the ship off into deep water, and anchor her in comparative security alongside the other ships in the roads.

The next morning a canoe was seen approaching the James Monroe, from Pulo Kio, with five or six men in her, whom we took, as a matter of course, to be natives; but we were soon hailed from that ship, and informed that four of the number were a part of our own crew. I proceeded immediately on board and found them to be Wm. Parnell, John Muzzey, Algernon Warren, seamen, and Wm. Bray, carpenter. Their haggard and squalid appearance bespoke what they had suffered. It would seem impossible that in the space of four days, men could, by any casualty, so entirely lose their identity. They bore no semblance to their former selves, and it was only by asking their names that I knew either of them. They were without clothing, other than loose pieces of cotton cloth thrown over their persons, their hair matted, their bodies crisped and burnt in large, running blisters, besides having been nearly devoured by musquitos, the poison of whose stings had left evident traces of its virulence; their flesh wasted away, and even the very tones of their voices were changed. It is no exaggeration to say their appearance forcibly reminded me of the print of Capt. Riley and his men, at their first interview with Mr. Willshire, under the palace walls, near Mogadore. The few pieces of cloth, which covered their nakedness, being all their flesh could bear, and these it was necessary first to oil, to enable them to do even that. They had been wandering about in the

jungle without food ever since the ship was taken, and the story of their sufferings was a painful one. Their account of the capture of the ship was as follows:—When the pepper-boat came alongside, it was observed by the crew that all on board her were strangers, and not one was recognized as having been off to the ship before. They were also better dressed than boatmen generally, all of them having on white or yellow jackets, and new ivory-handled creises. No notice appeared to be taken of these suspicious circumstances by the mate, and all except two men, who were left to pass up pepper, were admitted indiscriminately to come on board. One of the crew, named Wm. Parnell, who was stationed at the gangway to pass along pepper, made some remark, to call his attention to the number of natives on board, and was answered in a gruffy manner, and asked if he was afraid. No, replied the man, not afraid; but I know it to be contrary to the regulations of the ship. He was ordered, with an oath, to pass along pepper, and mind his own business. The natives were also seen by the crew sharpening their creises upon the grindstone, which stood upon the forecastle, and a man named Chester, who was subsequently killed while starting pepper down the fore-hatch, asked them in pantomime, for he could not speak the language, what so many of them wanted on board, and was answered in the same way, that they came off to see the ship. He was heard by one of the crew to say, "we must look out you do not come for anything worse," at the same time drawing a handspike within his reach. The Malays had distributed themselves about the decks in the most advantageous manner for an attack, and at some preconcerted signal a simultaneous assault upon the crew was made in every part of the ship. Two Malays were seen by the steward to rush with their creises upon Mr. Knight, who was very badly stabbed in the back and side, the weapons appearing to be buried in his body, up to their very hilts.—Chester, at the fore hatch, notwithstanding his distrust and precaution, was killed outright, and supposed to have fallen into the hold. The steward, at the galley, was also badly wounded, and was only saved from death by the creis striking hard against a short rib, which took the force of the blow. Of the two men on the stage over the ship's side, one was killed, and the other so badly wounded as to be made a cripple for life. The chief officer was seen, after he was stabbed, to rush aft upon the starboard side of the quarter deck, and endeavor to get a boarding pike out of the beckets, abreast the mizzen rigging, where he was met by Parnell, to whom he exclaimed, '*do your duty;*" at the same instant two or three Malays rushed upon him, and he was afterwards seen lying dead near the same spot, with the boarding pike under him. On the instant the crew found the ship attacked, they attempted to get aft into the cabin for arms, but the Malays had placed a guard on each side of the companion-way, which prevented them; they then rushed forward for handspikes, and were again intercepted; and being completely bewildered, surprised and defenceless, and knowing that several of their shipmates had already been killed outright before their eyes, and others wounded, all who could swim plunged overboard, and the others took to the rigging, or crept over the bows out of sight. The decks were now cleared, and the pirates had full possession of the ship.

The men in the water then consulted together what they should do, concluding it certain death to return to the ship; and they determined it would be the safest to swim on shore, and secrete themselves in the jungle;—but as they approached it they observed the beach about Qualah Battoo lined with natives, and they proceeded more to the westward, and landed upon a point called Ouj'ong Lamah Moodah, nearly two miles distant from the ship. On their way they had divested themselves of every article of clothing, and they were entirely naked at the time they landed. As it was not yet dark, they sought safety and seclusion in the jungle, from whence they emerged as soon as they thought it safe, and

walked upon the beach in the direction of Cape Felix and Annalaboo, intending to make the best of their way to the latter place, with the hope of meeting there some American vessel, on board which they would find shelter and protection. At the approach of daylight they sought a hiding-place again in the bushes; but it afforded them only a partial protection from the scorching rays of the sun, from which, being entirely naked, they experienced the most dreadful effects. Hunger and thirst began also to make demands upon them; but no food could anywhere be found. They tried to eat grass, but their stomachs refused it. They found a few husks of the cocoanut, which they chewed, endeavoring to extract some nourishment from them, but in vain. They staid in their hiding-place the whole of this day, and saw Malays passing along the beach, but were afraid to discover themselves. At night they pursued their journey again, during which they passed several small streams, where they slaked their thirst, but obtained no food. About midnight they came to a very broad river, which they did not venture to cross. The current was very rapid, and they had no means of conveyance other than their own limbs, and having been 36 hours without food of any kind, they did not dare attempt it. This river I have always supposed to be Qualah Toepah, about midway between Cape Felix and Annalaboo. Here, then, they were put completely *hors de combat;* they found for want of food their energies were fast giving way, and still they believed their lives depended on not being discovered. I have since been struck with the remarks of Dr. Kane, on the effects of a want of food, which are so much like the account given by my men, that I cannot refrain from inserting it. "The first symptom," says he, does not show itself in hunger, but in a loss of power often so imperceptibly brought on that it becomes evident only by an accident,"—such, for instance, as the inability felt to cross this river. Since further progress towards Annalaboo appeared impossible, they resolved to retrace their steps, endeavor to pass Qualah Battoo in the night, without being discovered, and reach the hospitable residence of Po Adam, at Pulo Kio. They accordingly took up their line of march towards that place, immediately, and reached, as they supposed, the neighborhood of Cape Felix by the morning, when they again retreated to the jungle, where they lay concealed another day, being Wednesday, the day of the recapture of the ship, but at too great distance to hear the firing. At night they again resumed their journey, and having reached the spot where the Malays landed in so much haste when they deserted the ship, they found the beach covered with canoes, a circumstance which aroused their suspicions, but for which they were at a loss to account. They now concluded each to take a canoe, as the most certain way of passing Qualah Battoo without discovery, and so proceed to Pulo Kio. As they passed the roads, they heard one of the ship's bells strike the hour, and the well-known cry of "*All's well*," but fearing it was some decoy of the natives, they would not approach her, but proceeded on their way, and landed at Pulo Kio, secreting themselves once more in the jungle, near the residence of Po Adam, until the morning, when four naked and half-famished white men were seen to emerge from the bushes, and approach his fort with feeble steps, who, as soon as recognized, were welcomed by him with the strongest demonstrations of delight; slapping his hands, shouting at the top of his lungs, and in the exuberance of his joy committing all kinds of extravagances. They now heard of the recapture of the ship, and the escape of the boat's crew on shore, which it had never occurred to them were not already numbered with the dead. They were clothed as we have described, and a breakfast of boiled rice prepared, being the first food that they had tasted for the period of 72 hours. Having refreshed themselves, they were conveyed by Adam and his men on board the James Munroe, in the pitiful condition of which we have before spoken.

In the course of the latter part of the same day, another canoe, with a white flag displayed, was observed approaching the fleet from the direction of Qualah Battoo, containing three or four Chinamen, who informed us that four of our men, two of whom were wounded, one very severely, were at their houses on shore, where their wounds had been dressed, and they had been otherwise cared for; and that we could ransom them of the Rajahs at ten dollars each. To this I readily agreed, and they were soon brought off to the ship in a sampan, and proved to be Charles Converse and Gregorie Pedechio, seamen, Lorenzo Migell, cook, and William Francis, steward. Converse was laid out at full length upon a board, as if dead,—evidently very badly wounded. The story of the poor fellow was a sad one. He, with John Davis, being the two tallest men in the ship, were on the stage over the side when she was attacked. Their first impulse was, to gain the ship's decks, but were defeated in this design by the pirates, who stood guard over the gangway, and making repeated thrusts at them. They then made a desperate attempt to pass over the pepper-boat, and thus gain the water, in doing which they were both most severely wounded. Having reached the water, Converse swam round to the ship's bows, and grasped the chain, to which he clung as well as he was able, being badly crippled in one of his hands, with other severe wounds in various parts of his body. When it became dark, he crawled up over the bows as well as his exhausted strength from the loss of blood would permit, and crept to the foot of the forecastle stairs, where he supposed he must have fainted, and fell prostrate upon the floor without the power of moving himself one inch further. The Malays believing him dead, took no heed of him, but travelled up and down over his body the whole night. Upon attempting to pass over the boat, after being foiled in his endeavor to reach the ship's decks, a native made a pass at his head with his "*parrung*," a weapon resembling most a butcher's cleaver, which he warded off by throwing up his naked arm, and the force of the blow fell upon the outer part of his hand, severing all the bones and sinews belonging to three of his fingers, and leaving untouched only the fore finger and thumb. Besides this he received a cruis wound in the back, which must have penetrated to the stomach, from whence he bled from his mouth the most part of the night. He was likewise very badly wounded in the ham just below the groin, which came so nearly through the leg as to discolor the flesh upon the inside. Wonderful, however, to relate, notwithstanding the want of proper medical advice, and with nothing but the unskillful treatment of 3 or 4 ship masters, the thermometer ranging all the time, from 85 to 90 deg., this man recovered from his wounds, but in his crippled hand, he carried the marks of Malay perfidy to his watery grave, having been drowned at sea from on board of the brig Fair American, in the winter of 1833-4, which was, no doubt, occasioned by this wound, which unfitted him for holding on properly while aloft.

The fate of his companion Davis, was a tragical one. He could not swim, and after reaching the water was seen to struggle hard to gain the boat's tackle fall at the stern, to which he clung until the Malays dropped the pepper boat astern, when he was observed apparently imploring mercy at their hands, which the wretches did not heed, but butchered him upon the spot. Gregory was the man seen aloft when we had cleared the river, cutting strange antics which we did not at the time comprehend. By his account, when he reached the fore topgallant yard, the pirates commenced firing the ship's muskets at him, which he dodged by getting over the front side of the yard and sail and down upon the collar of the stay, and then reversing the movement. John Masury related that after being wounded in the side, he crept over the bows of the ship and down upon an anchor, where he was sometime employed in dodging the thrusts of

a boarding pike in the hands of a Malay, until the arrival of a reinforcement from the shore, when every one fearing lest he should not get his full share of plunder, ceased further to molest the wounded. The story of the steward has already been told.

The ship, the first night after her capture, according to the testimony of these men, was a perfect pandemonium, and a Babel of the most discordant sounds. The ceaseless moaning of the surf upon the adjacent shore, the heavy peals of thunder, and sharp flashings of lightning directly over their heads,—the sighing of the wind in wild discords through the rigging, like the wailings of woe from the manes of their murdered shipmates ; and all this intermingled with the more earthly sounds of the squealing of pigs, the screeching of fowls, the cackling of roosters, the unintelligible jargon of the natives, jangling and vociferating, with horrible laughter, shouts and yells, in every part of her, and in the boats alongside carrying off plunder ; their black figures unexpectedly darting forth from every unseen quarter, as if rising up and again disappearing through the decks, and gambolling about in the dark, so like a saturnalia of demons, that it was easy to fancy the fumes of sulphur were actually invading their olfactories, and the whole scene more fully realized their ideas of the infernal regions, than any thing with which their imaginations could compare it. It is the general impression that Malays, being Mussulmen, have a holy horror of swine, as unclean animals ; the very touch of which imposes many ablutions, and abstaining from food for several days together,—but, according to the testimony of my men, it was perfectly marvellous how they handled, that night, those on board our ship,—going into their pens, seizing, struggling, and actually *embracing* them, until they succeeded in throwing every one overboard.

The morning succeeding her capture, affairs on board appeared to be getting to be a little more settled, when several Chinamen came off and performed the part of good Samaritans, in taking the wounded men on shore to their houses, and dressing their wounds with some simple remedies, which at least kept down inflammation. In doing this, however, they were obliged to barricade their dwellings, to guard them against the insulting annoyances of the natives.

Qualah Battoo bazar that day presented a ludicrous spectacle. Almost every Malay was decked out in a white, blue, red, checked, or striped shirt, or some other European article of dress or manufacture, stolen from the ship, not even excepting the woolen table cloth belonging to the cabin, which was seen displayed over the shoulders of a native,—all seemingly quite proud of their appearance, and strutting about with a solemn gravity and oriental self-complacency, that was perfectly ludicrous. Their novel and grotesque appearance could not fail to suggest the idea that a tribe of monkeys had made a descent upon some unfortunate clothing establishment, and each to have seized and carried off whatever article of dress was most suited to his taste and fancy.

According to Gregory, who, not being wounded, remained on board, the ship was all day filled with Malays searching into every possible nook and cranny where they thought money might be secreted, and carrying off the veriest trifles which could be of no use to them. In the afternoon, on the appearance of the fleet from Muckie, they were determined on running her ashore, lest she should be re-taken, and with that view commenced weighing anchor, and everything for some time gave assurances of the fulfilment of their wishes.—The ship was already drifting towards the beach, when the anchor came in sight, and they let go the chain, ceased heaving at the windlass, and made a rush forward to see it. At this moment the weight of the anchor caused the chain to commence running out with great velocity, and when some 12 or 13 fathoms had thus disappeared, it jumped, and caught a riding turn around the windlass, which brought it to a stand. Poor Gregory

was now brought forward to clear it,—but he persisted it was past his skill, which of course they did not believe, and tied him in the rigging, and made demonstrations of ripping him open, flourishing their knives in fearful proximity about his person in a state of great exasperation. They next made a fruitless attempt to cut it off with the cook's axe. Thus matters stood, when the land wind with heavy rain set in, and the natives sought shelter in the cabin, leaving the ship to her fate, and she drifted to the westward into shoal water, where the anchor again took hold and brought her up in the place we discovered her the next morning, and where we boarded and took possession of her. Gregory was then taken on shore, and confined in the fort, which was silenced by the Gov. Endicott.

The ship was now once more in our possession, with what remained of her cargo and crew. She was rifled of almost every movable article on board, and scarcely anything but her pepper remaining. Of our outward cargo every dollar of specie, and every pound of opium had of course become a prey to them. All her spare sails and rigging were gone—not a needle or ball of twine, palm, marling spike, or piece of rope were left! All our charts, chronometers and other nautical instruments—all our clothing and bedding, were also gone; as well as our cabin furniture and small stores of every description. Our ship's provisions, such as beef, pork and most of our bread, had, however, been spared. Of our armament nothing but the large guns remained. Every pistol, musket, cutlass, and boarding pike, with our entire stock of powder, had been taken.

With assistance from the other vessels we immediately began making the necessary preparations to leave the port with all possible dispatch, but owing to much rainy weather we did not accomplish it for three days after recapturing the ship, when we finally succeeded in leaving the place in company with the fleet bound for South Tallapow, where we arrived on the 14th February. When we landed at this place with the other masters and supercargoes, we were followed through the streets of the bazar by the natives in great crowds, exulting and hooting, with exclamations similar to these,—"Who great man now, Malay or American?" "How many man American dead?" "How many man Malay dead?"

We now commenced in good earnest to prepare our ship for sea. Our voyage had been broken up, and there was nothing left for us but to return to the United States. We finally left Muckie, whither we had already proceeded, on the 27th February, for Pulo Kio, accompanied by ship Delphos, Capt. James D. Gillis, and the Gov. Endicott, Capt. Jenks, where I was yet in hopes to recover some of my nautical instruments. With the assistance of Po Adam, I succeeded in obtaining, for a moderate sum, my sextant and one of my chronometers, which enabled me to navigate the ship. We sailed from Pulo Kio on the 4th of March, and arrived at Salem on the 16th of July. The intense interest and excitement caused by our arrival may still be remembered. It being nearly calm, as we approached the harbor, we were boarded several miles outside by crowds of people, all anxious to learn the most minute particulars of our sad misfortune, the news of which had preceded us by the arrival of a China ship at New York, which we had met at St. Helena. The curiosity of some of our visitors was so great that they would not be satisfied until they knew the exact spot where every man stood, who was either killed or wounded. Even the casing of the cabin, so much cut up in search of money, or other valuables, was an object of the greatest interest.

But the feeling of presumptuous exultation and proud defiance exhibited by the natives, was of brief duration. The avenger was at hand. In something less than a year after this outrage, the U. S. Frigate, Potomac, Com. Downes, appeared off the port of Qualah Battoo, and anchored in the outer roads, disguised as a merchantman. Every boat which visited her from the shore was detained, that her character might not be made known to the natives. Several amusing anecdotes were told, of the

fear and terror exhibited in the countenances of the natives, when they so unexpectedly found themselves imprisoned within the wooden walls of the Potomac, surrounded by such a formidable armament, which bespoke the errand that had attracted her to their shores. They prostrated themselves at full length upon her decks, trembling in the most violent manner, and appearing to think nothing but certain death awaited them—which it required all the efforts of the officers to dispel.

A reconnoitering party was first sent on shore, professedly for the purpose of traffic.—But when they approached, the natives came down to the beach in such numbers, it excited their suspicions that her character and errand had somehow preceded her, and it was considered prudent not to land. Having, therefore, examined the situation of the forts and the means of defence, they returned to the frigate. The same night some 300 men, under the guidance of Mr. Barry, the former 2d officer of the Friendship, who was assistant sailing-master of the frigate, landed to the westward of the place, with the intention of surprising the forts and the town, but by some unaccountable delay, the morning was just breaking when the detachment had effected a landing, and as they were marching along the beach towards the nearest fort, a Malay came out of it, by whom they were discovered, and an alarm given. They however pushed on, and captured the forts by storm, after some hard fighting, and set fire to the town, which was burnt to ashes. The natives, not even excepting the women, fought with great desperation in the forts, many of whom would not yield until shot down or sabred on the spot. The next day the frigate was dropped in within gunshot, and bombarded the place, to impress them with the power and ability of the United States to avenge any act of piracy, or other indignity offered by them to her flag.—When I visited the coast again, some five months after this event, I found the deportment of the natives materially changed. There was now no longer exhibited either arrogance or proud defiance. All appeared impressed with the irresistible power of a nation that could send such tremendous engines of war as the Potomac frigate upon their shores, to avenge any wrongs committed upon its vessels; and that it would in future be better policy for them to attend to their pepper plantations, and cultivate the arts of peace, than subject themselves to such severe retribution as had followed this act of piracy upon the Friendship.

Perhaps, in justice to Po Adam, I ought to remark, before closing, that the account circulated by his countrymen of his conniving at, if not being actually connected with this piracy, a falsehood with which they found the means of deceiving several American Ship-Masters, soon after the affair, is a base calumny against a worthy man, and has no foundation whatever in truth. The property he had in my possession on board the ship, in gold ornaments of various kinds, besides money, amounting to several thousand dollars, all of which he lost by the capture of the ship, and never recovered, bears ample testimony to the falsity of this charge. His countrymen also worked upon the avarice and cupidity of the king by misrepresentations of his exertions to recover the ship, thereby preventing them from making him a present of her, which they pretended was their intention. His sable majesty, in consequence, absolved every one of his debtors, all along the coast, from paying him their debts. He also confiscated all his property he could find, such as fishing-boats, nets and lines, and other fishing tackle, and appropriated the proceeds to his own use, so that he was at once reduced to penury. All this was in accordance with Commodore Bieulieu's account, already cited, upwards of two hundred years before, viz: "If they even *suspect* that any one bears them an ill will, they endeavor to ruin him by false accusations." The king also sent a small schooner down the coast, soon after, to reap further vengeance upon Po Adam. Arriving at Pulo Kio, while Adam was absent, they rifled his fort of everything

valuable, and even took the ornaments, such as armlets and anklets, off the person of his wife. Intelligence having been conveyed to Po Adam of this outrage, he arrived home in the night before the schooner had left the harbor, and incensed, as it was natural he should be, at such base and cowardly treatment, he immediately opened a fire upon her and sunk her in nine feet of water. She was afterwards fished up by the Potomac frigate, and converted into fire-wood.

We do not know if Po Adam is now living, but some sixteen years since, we saw a letter from him to one of our eminent merchants,* asking for assistance from our citizens, and stating truthfully all the facts in his case. I endeavored at the time, through our then representative to Congress, to bring the matter before that body, but from some cause it did not succeed, and the poor fellow has been allowed to *live*, if not to *die*, in his penury. We will, however, permit him to state his own case, in his own language, which he does in the following letter, written at his own dictation :—

Qualah Battoo, 7th October, 1841.

Some years have passed since the capture of the Friendship, commanded by my old friend, Capt. Endicott.

It perhaps is not known to you, that, by saving the life of Capt. Endicott, and the ship itself from destruction, I became, in consequence, a victim to the hatred and vengeance of my misguided countrymen ; some time since, the last of my property was set on fire and destroyed, and now, for having been the steadfast friend of Americans, I am not only destitute, but an object of derision to my countrymen.

You, who are so wealthy and so prosperous, I have thought, that, if acquainted with these distressing circumstances, that you would not turn a deaf ear to my present condition.

I address myself to you, because through my agency many of your ships have obtained cargoes, but I respectfully beg that you will have the kindness to state my case to the rich pepper merchants of Salem and Boston, firmly believing that from their generosity, and your own, I shall not have reason to regret the warm and sincere friendship ever displayed towards your Captains, and all other Americans, trading on this Coast.

I take the liberty, also, to subjoin a copy of a letter,* recently received from Capt. Hammond, of the ship Maria, of New York ; as he left this place lately, it will show whether I have been telling you otherwise than the melancholy truth, or grieve without a cause.

Wishing you, Sir, and your old companions in the Sumatra trade, and their Captains, health and prosperity, and trusting that, before many moons I shall, through your assistance, be released from my present wretched condition, believe me very respectfully,

Your faithful servant,

(signed) PO ADAM, in Arabic characters.

Copy of the letter from Capt. Hammond above referred to :

Soosoo, 21 July, 1841.

To the Commander of any U. S. Ship of War, touching on the West Coast of Sumatra :

This may certify that the bearer, Po Adam, at present residing at Qualah Battoo, has applied to me to write this statement of his situation, that he can present it as above.

I therefore state the following : I have been acquainted with him for the last twenty-five years, and have known him in prosperity and in adversity the same. It is well known that he was the principal means of saving the life of Capt. Charles M. Endicott, with his boat's crew, at the time that they captured the Friendship, of Salem, and by that act he has lost his property, and incurred the hatred and jealousy of the Acheenise. He is the most intelligent man among them, and one of the best pilots ; is ever ready to render assistance to any American, and as he is at present very destitute, it would be an act of charity, as well as duty, if the American Government would assist him in his present circumstances.

He wishes to proceed to the United States to visit his old friends, and wishes to go in some Ship of War, of our nation. I hope his request may be granted, as he would there find influencial men to represent his case to the Government of the United States.

(signed,) JOHN HAMMOND,
Master of the ship Maria, of New York, and a resident of Salem.

*To Joseph Peabody, Esq., of Salem, Mass.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS, OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

John Attwater, sonne of Mr. Jno. Attwater, borne by Mehittabell his wife, 20th day of December, 1687.—sone Francis borne 2d October, 1690.

Jno. Adams—his daughter Elizabeth, borne by Sarah his wife, the 20th Octobor, 1682.—his daughter Sarah borne 13th October, 1684. Mary born 15 February, 1687.—John born March 16, 1689 —Margarett Borne March the 8th, 1695-6.—1st daught'r, Margarett, Borne Feb'y 11, 1692, & deceased May 14th 1694.

Ebenez'r Abby, son of Samuel Abby & Mary, his wife, was borne at Salem Village July the 31st, 1683, cue. Marcy Abby, daughter as abovesaid, was borne the first of March, 1684-5, cue.—Sarah Abby, daughter as abovesd, was born July 4th, 16—. Hepsibah Abby, Daughter as abovesd, was born February 14th 1688-9.—Abigail Abby, Daughter as abovesd, was born November 19th 1690.—John Abby, son, as abovesd, was born June 4th, 1692.—Benj'n Abby, son as abovesd, was born the 4th of June, 1694.

Sarah Archer, daughter of Stephen Archer & Sarah his wife, born at Salem, 24 June, 1698.

Phillip Attwood & Sarah Tenney, (now of Bradford,) was married July 23d, 1684.

Mary Abbot, daughter of Robt. & Mary Abbot, was born Sept. 28th, 1706.

Samuel Andrew, son of Wm. Andrew & Seeth his wife, was borne 4th August, 1693.

Jonath'n Ashby, son of Benja. Ashby & Hanah his wife, was borne 28th September, 1694.

Abigail Allin, daughter of Joseph Allin & Abigail his wife, was borne at Salem June the first, 1696.

Eliza Backster, daughter of Danyell Backster, by Eliza, his wife, was born 7 mo., 1644 —their dau'r Susanna 7 mo., 1646—their dau'r Rebecca born 11th mo,—their daug'r Prissilla born in June, 1652.

Mary, dau'r of Tho's Barnes, by Mary his wife, born the 12th of 8th mo., 1658, & died ye 14 8 mo., 1660.—their dau'r Mary born 19th March, 1661.

Isaac Burnap Married to Hanna Antrum by Major Hathorne, 8th 9 mo , 1658.

James, son of Mr. William Browne, born by Sara his wife, 28th 10 mo., 1658, & died 6 mo.

John Browne, Jun. Married to Hanna Hubbard by Leift Lothrop, 2d June, 1658.—their son, John born ye 4th 2d mo., 1659, & died ye 21st 3d mo., 1659.

Mary, dau'r of Sam'l Belknap, born by Sara his wife ye 17th 6 mo., 1658, *& Mary borne 14th 8th mo.*, 1656.

The wife of Old Rich'd Bishop died 24th 6 mo., 1658.

Mr. Henry Bartholomew, his daughter Sara, born by Elizabeth, his wife, ye 29th 11th mo., 1658.

Benjamin Bulflower, died ye 24th 12th mo., 1660.

Jeremiah Bootsman and Hester Lambert were Married by Major Hathorne, 8th of 8th mo., 1659.—their dau Mary born 4th July, 1660, son Jeremy born 4th November, 1662, son Mathew born 11th September, 1665.

Mr. William Browne, son John borne about 10th 8th mo., 1669.—son Joseph borne in the month of August, 1672, son Benjamin borne in August, 1674.

George Burch—his dau'r Mary, born by Eliza his wife, ye 30th 9 mo., 1659.—dau'r Eliza born 4th June, 1662.—dau'r Mary deceased 20th 12th mo., 1662.—son John born 28 May, 1664.

Jacob Barny & Hana Johnson maryed by Major Hathorne, 18th 6th mo., 1657.—their daugh'tr Hana born 30th 3d mo., 1659.—Hana the wife, dyed 5th 4 mo., 1659.

Jacob Barny & Ann Witt were maryed by Capt. Marshall 26th 2d mo., 1660.—their 2d dau'r, Hana, born 2 March, 1660.—Sarah born 12th 7th mo., 1662. Abigaile born 3d 8th mo., 1663.—John born 1st 6 mo., 1665. Jacob 21st 3d mo., 1667.—Ruth born 27th 7th mo., 1669.

Richard Bishop married to widow Golt, by Maj. Hathorne, 22d 5th mo., 1660.—the wife Dulsabell died ye 23d 6th mo., 1658.—Richard Bishop deceased 30th 10th mo., 1674.

Anthoyne Buxston—his son Anthony born ye 6th 7th mo., 1653, by Eliza his wife.—their son Samuell born 14th 6th mo., 1655.—their son James born 8th 6th mo., 1659-—their son Tho's born 24th 12 mo., '61.—son James died 15th 8th mo., 1662.—Tho's died 20 8th mo., 1662.—their son Joseph born ye 17 5 mo., 1663.—dau'r Hanna born 27 January, 1665.

James Betty, his Dau'r Mary born by Sara his wife 9th 9th mo., 1661.

Cornelious Baker maryed to Hanna Woodbery, 26th April, 1658.—their Daughter Hana born 14th 8 mo., 1660, & died 6th November, 1662.—2d dau'r Hanna born 28 9 mo., 1662.

John Buttolph Maryed to Hana Gardner ye 16th 8th mo., 1663, by Major Hathorne.—their son John borne 11th 7th mo., 1664, & died ye 23d Aprill, 1665.—son Jona. born 9th 2d mo., 16—

Sam'l, son of John Browne, Jun'r, borne by Hana his wife, ye 14th 1st mo., 1662, & died ye 31st 10th mo., 1663.—son John born ye 21st 12th mo., 1661, before.—son Peeter March, 1664, & died about 3 mo. after.—Abiell born 21st March, 1672-3.

John Bly & Rebecka Golt were Maryed by Majo. Hathorne the 11th of 9 mo., 1663.—their son John borne 27th January, 1664.

Henry Bullock, ye elder, dyed the 27th 10th mo., 1663.

Abram, son of Sam'l Belknap, by Sara his wife, born 4 4th mo., 1660,—son Samuel borne 2d 3d mo., 1662.

John Barnett (alias Barbant,) Married to Mary Bishop, 14th 8th mo., 1661.—their Dau'r Mary born 30th 8th mo., 1662.—their Dau'r Familliar born 26th 7 mo., 1664.—Dau'r Eliza born 5th July, 1666.

Jonathan Brown Maryed Abyha ile Burrell, by ye worshipfull Mr. Symonds, 28 4 mo., 1664.

James Browne Maried with Hannah Bartholmew, by Majo. Hathorne, the 5th 7 mo., 1664.—son James bo. 3d 12th mo., '65.—their son Bartholmew borne 31 March, 1669; son James deceased 10th mo., 1670. Daughter Elizabeth born the 26th January, '70.—Daughter Hanna born 9th March, 1672.—son James born 23d May, '75.

Edmond Bridges, his Daughter Hanna born 9th June, 1669.

Abigail Beadle, daughter of Samuel Beadle, born by Susana his wife, ye 24th 7th mo., '61, and deceased 14th 8th mo., '61.

Susana, wife of Samuel Beadle, deceased 13th 12 mo., '62.—ye said Samuel deceased ye 10th March, '63.

Samuel Beachum, son of Edward Beachum, deceased 20 9 mo., '62. Mary, the wife of Edward Beachum, deceased March 1667-8.—their daughter Mary deceased the same week.

Mr. William Brown, Jun'r, Maried to Hanah Corwin by Maj. Hathorne, 29th 10 mo., '64.—son William borne ye 28 July, 1666.

Ruth, dau'r of Christopher Babadg by Agnes his wife, bo. 21 1st mo., '63.—their son Jon borne 15th April, 1666.—Agnes his wife deceased the 17th November, 1667.—the said Christopher Babadg & Hana Carlton, Widdow, were married the 5th 8th mo. 1674.—their daughter Hanna borne the 15th July, 1675.—daughter Mary borne 1st March, 1676-7.

Danyell Bacon married to Susan Spencer by Major Hathorne, ye 1st August, 1664.—their son Danyell bo. 14th October, '65.—daughter Alice bo. 28th 8th mo., '69, & deceased about 7 weeks after.—dau'r Susana born ye 18th July, 1670.—Mary borne 8th June, 1673.—

Ed'd Bush & Mary Hidz maryed by Maj. Hathorne, 17th Octo., '65.—their son Edward bo. the 2d 7th mo., '67, & died ye 5th 12 mo., '67.

Thomas Barnes, his son Benjamin born by Mary his wife, 1st Octob. '55.—their son Tho's bo. ye year '57, & died ye same year, the said Thomas Barnes the elder, was drowned December, ('63.)

John Balden & Arrabella Norman were married by Maj. Dennison in Sept., 1664.—da Hana bo. 15th October, 1667.—John borne the 26 9th mo., 1668.

Thomas, son of Tho's Cromwell, deceased 16 March, '63.

John Buttolph, his son George borne by Hanna his wife, the 15th of October, 1667.

Thomas Brackett, his son Joseph deceased May ye 15, 16— his daughter Lidea deceased 1 January, '67.—son Thomas deceased the 15th January, 1667.

Mr. William Browne, Jr., his son William deceased 24th 8th mo., 1666.—his daughter Hana, by Hana his wife, borne ye 16th March, 1667-8.—dau'r Hana deceased 30 4 mo., '68. their son Samuel borne by Hana his wife, 8 8th mo., 1669.—son William borne 5th 7th mo., '71.—son of John borne ye 2.9 mo., 1672.—son William deceased 18, 7, 72.—daughter Sara borne the 10th 10mo., 1674.

John Baxter & Abigaile Whiterig were maried by Maj. Deneson, 25th November, 1667. their son John borne the 14th 10 mo., 1668.—their daughter Abigaill ye 15th 10th mo., 1670, their daughter Elizabeth the 25th May, 1673.—Mary borne the 26 10 mo., 1674.—the sd Mary died the 19th 7th mo., 1675.

John Browne & Hanna Collens were maried the 27th of January, 1668.—their daughter Prissilla borne 1st 4 mo., '69.—Margarett borne 23d April, 1671.—Joseph borne 11th 7 mo., 1673.—Hanah Collens borne 22d July, 1678.—their son William born first of December, 1677.—Daugh'er Mary borne 4 January, 1692.

John Buxton & Mary Small were married by Maj'r Hathorne 30th of March, 1668.—their daughter Mary borne 3d 7th mo., 1669. Elizabeth borne ye 13th August, 1672.—son John borne the 29th 9th mo., 1675.—Mary his wife deceased the 27th 11th mo., 1675.

Samuel Beadle maryed to Hana Lemon the 20th June, 1668.—their son Nathaniel borne the 29th of March, 1669.—Samuel borne 11th 8th mo., 1672.—son Thomas borne 28th 9th mo., 1673.—daughter Susanna borne 20th of April, 1676.—their son Thomas deceased the 20th May, 1676.

Mrs. Sarah Batter, the wife of Mr. Edmond Batter, deceased the 20th of the 9th mo., 1669.

Mr. Edmond Batter & Mrs. Mary Gookin were maryed ye 8th June, 1670.—their son Edmond borne the 8th January, 1673.

Edward Beachum & Elizabeth Metcalf were maryed the 8th of November, 1670.

John Best & Susana Durm were married ye 10th of 8th mo., 1670.—their son John ye 5th 7th mo., 1672.—daughter Susana borne the 28th 11 mo., 1673.

Joseph Boyce & Sarah Meachum were married 4th 12 mo., 1667.—their daughter Sara was borne 4th 10 mo., 1668.

Thomas Browning Deceased in February, 1670.

Nathaniel Beadle & Mary Hix were maryed the 20th of Aprill, 1670.—his son Thomas borne by Mary his wife, 21st 11th mo., 1671. daughter Mary borne 20th 9th mo., 1673.—son Nathaniel borne the 17th 10th mo., 1675. their son John borne the 29th 2d mo., 1678. daughter Elizabeth borne the 25 October, 1679.—their son John ye second borne ye 12th August, 1683.

Peeter Baldin & Rachell Dellocloce, widdow, were married by Major William Hathorne, ye 27th May, 1672.

Thomas Bouenton & Sara Sothwick were maried ye 30th 10th mo.. '70.—their son Thomas Borne 1st March. 1671.—son Benjamin borne 24 July, 1675.—their Daughter Abigail borne the 25th July, 1695.

Thomas Burt & Mary Sothwick were maryed the 18 9th mo., '72.

Jacob Barney, Jun'r, his daughter Dorcas borne by Ann his wife, 22d 2d mo., 1671.—their son Joseph borne the 9th March, 1672-3. son Israell borne the 17th June, 1675.—son Jonathan borne the 29 March, 1677.—son Samuel borne the 10th 12th mo., 1678.—daughter Hannah borne the 6 12 mo., 1680.

Robert Bray, his son Daniell borne by Tamsen his wife, the 29th 9th mo., 1673.

Georg Burch, his dau Mary borne by Eliza his wife, ye 26th 7th mo., 1667.—Abigaile borne 16th August 1669,—son George borne 27th April, 1671, sd Georg, the father, deceased 1st 8th mo., '72.

John Bly, his son Benjamin by Rebecka his wife, borne the 8th of 8th mo., 1666.—Mary borne 25th May, 1668.—Rebecka 20th July, 1670.—Edmond borne 14th 7th mo, 1672.—Hanna 8th 8th mo., 1674.—son William borne ye 17th 7th mo., 1676.

John Batcheler & Mary Herrick were married the 14th of August, 1673.—their son John borne ye 26 2d mo., 1675.—son Jonathan borne the 29th March, 1678.

Joshua Buffum & Damarice Pope were married———

Ruth Batchellor, daughter of Jona. & Ruth Batchellor, born Dec 27th 1703.

Mary Batchellor, daughter of Josiah & Mary Batchellor, born Nov. 5, 1701.—their son Wm. born October 20, 1703.

Caleb Buffum & Hanna Pope were maryed ye 26th March, 1672.—their son Caleb borne 14th May, 1673.—son Robert borne the 1st 10 mo , 1675.

Mr. James Bailey, his son James borne by Mary his wife, the 12th Aprill, 1675.—sonn John borne 29th 7th mo., '76, & dyed 29 10 mo., '77.—sonn John borne the 10th May, '78.—Samuell borne 2d March, 1679–80.

Samuel Buxston & Rachell Buxston, the children of Anthony Buxton, deceased the 24th 12 mo , 1675.—son Anthony deceased May, 1676.

George Booth, his son Benjamin by Ales his wife, borne the 10th March, 1675.—daugh'tr Ales borne the 6th July, 1678.—theire daughter Susanna borne 21st September, 1680.

John Bachelor the elder deceased 13 9 mo., 1675, & his wife Elizabeth deceased the 10th day of the same month.

John Batchelor's son Zachariah born Feb'y 5th, 1701–2.—another son Zacha. died Dec. 20, 1700.

Nathal Batchellor born Feb'y 9th, 1703–4, being ye son of Jno. & Bethia Batchellor.

Daniel Bacon, his son Michaell borne by Susanna his wife the 23d October, 1676.—daughter Liddea 23d 12th mo., 1678.—son John borne 24th 11 mo., 1680, the said Liddea deceased 25 10 mo., 1681.

John Baxter, his son William borne by Abigaile his wife the 14th October, 1676.—the said Abigaile his wife deceased 22d 9 mo., 1676.

John Baxter married to Elizabeth Mackmallen, widdow, 4 9th mo., 1679.—theire daughter Sarah borne 15 August, 1680 — theire son Samuell borne the 10th June, 1683.

Mr. John Barton, his son John borne by Lidea his wife, the 2d 12th mo., 1676, & deceased the 7th of the same month.—theire son John borne 30th January, 1677.—theire son Thomas borne 7th July, '80.—son Zacheus borne 1st 2d mo., 1683.—son Samuell born 30th August, 1688.

John Blethin & Jane Markes were maryed 10th May, 1674.—theire son. John Blethin, borne 14th March, 1676–7.

James Browne, Glazier, his daughter Sara, by Hannah his wife, borne the 10th day of August, 1678.

John Batchelor, his son Josiah borne by Mary his wife, the 6th of March, 1679–80.

Ebenezer Buxton, son of John Buxton & Elizabeth his wife, borne the 20th June, 1690. Ledia Buxton borne October 16th, 1692.—Benj'n Buxton, son as aforesd, borne 10th March, 1694–5.—James Buxton, son as aforesd, borne 28th Septemb., 1698.

Joseph Bachelor & Meriam Moulton were maried the 8th 8th mo., 1677.—theire son Joseph Bachelor borne the 18th July, 1678.

Hanna, daughter of Edmond Bridges, borne by Sarah his wife, 7th mo., 1669.—theire son Caleb borne 3d Jun , 1677.

William Bennett & Elizabeth Smith, widdow, were married in March, 1674.—theire daughter Grace born February, '76, & dyed shortly after.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Vol. I. May, 1859. No. 2.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS KEPT BY THE REV. JOHN FISKE, DURING HIS MINISTRY AT SALEM, WENHAM AND CHELMSFORD.

By the kindness of David Pulsifer, Esq., of Boston, we have been permitted to print in our columns the following extracts, which are contained in a quarto manuscript volume in the handwriting of Mr. Fiske, which was given to him several years since by Sam'l Tenney, Esq.

Mr. John Fisk was born in the parish of St. James, in the county of Suffolk, England, about the year 1701. He was the eldest of four children, all of whom came to America afterwards with him, and left descendants.—His father, having devoted him to the service of Christ, first sent him to a Grammar school, and afterwards to the University of Cambridge, where he resided until he became a graduate. He then began to preach, but soon afterwards appied himself to the study of physick and obtained a license for practice. Soon after the death of his father, the care of his mother, two sisters, and a younger brother having devolved upon him, he removed to America, where he could quietly pursue the exercise of the ministry. He arrived at New England in 1637, and for three years he resided at Salem, where he was both a preacher and a tutor to divers young scholars (the well known Sir George Downing was one.) From Salem he went to Wenham, and remained there fourteen years, when he removed to Chelmsford, with a part of his church. In this latter place he continued in the ministry until his death, which occurred on the 14th of January, 1676.

Gathx my Sts. togethx unto me yos yt haue made a Covenant with me by sacrifice. Ps. 50. 5.

We whose names are hxunder written, members of ye pesent Church of X in Salem, haueing found by sad expience how dangerous it is to sit loose to ye Covenant we make with our god. And how apt we are to wander into bye pathes, yea, euen to ye loosing of our first aymes in entring Church Fellowship. Doe therefore solemnly in ye po sence of ye eternall God, both for our own comforts & yos who shall or may be joyned unto us, renew yt Church Covenant, we find yis church bound unto at there jst beginning, viz: That we covenant with ye Lord, & one with another, & doe bynd ourselves in ye pesence of god to walke together in all his waies, according as he is pleased to reveale hims. unto us in his Blessed word of truth, & doe more explicitely in ye name & feare of the Lord, p fesse and p test to walke as followeth. thro ye helpe & poux of ye Lord Jesus.

1st. We Avow ye Lord to be our god, &

ourselues his people, in ye truth and simplicity of or Spirits.

2. We giue up or selues to ye Lord Jesus Christ, & ye word of his grace for ye teaching, ruling & sanctifying of us in matters of worship & conversation, resoluing to cleaue to him alone for life & glory, & to oppose all Contrary wayes, cannons & 'stitutions of men in his worship.

3. We promise to walke with our brethren & sisters in yis Congregation, with all watchfullness & tendernes, avoyding all Jealousies, suspitions, back bitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spit against them, but in all offences to follow ye rule of the Lord Jesus, & to beare & forbeare, giue & forgiue as he hath taught us.

4. In publick & private we will willingly doe nothing to ye offence of ye Church, but will be ready to take advice for or selues & ours, as occasion shal be pesented.

5. We will not, in ye Congregation, be forward, either to shew our owne gifts or parts in speaking or scrupuling, or there discouer ye fayling of or brethren or sisters, but attend an orderly cale there untoo, knowing how much the Lord may bee dishonoured, and his gospel in ye p fession off it slighted by our distempers & weaknesses in publick.

6. Wee bind our selues to study ye advancement of the gospel in all truth & peace, both in regard of those yt are within or without, no waye sleighting our sister churches, but useing there counsell as need shalbee, nor laying a stumbling block before any, no, not ye Indians, whose good we desire to promote, & so to converse as we may avoyd ye very appearance of euill.

7. We heereby promise to carry or selues in all lawfull obedience to those yt are set our us in Church, & common wealth, knowing how well pleasing it wilbee to ye Lord, yt they should haue encouragement in there places, by our not greiving theire spirits through our Irregularities.

8. Wee resolue to approue or selues to ye Lord in or p ticular callings, shunning Idlenes as ye bane of any State, nor will we deale hardly or oppessingly with any wherein we are the Lord's stewards, also promising to or best abilities to teach our children & servants ye knowledge of ye Lord, & his will, that they may serue him also.

And all yis not by any strength of or owne, but by ye Lord Christ, whose bloud we desire should be sprinckle. This or covenant made in his name.

Samuel Sharp, Eldr.
dis. to pace:
John Endicott
Hugh Peter, pastor
Philip Verin
Hugh Laskin
Roger Conant
Laurance Leech
William Auger
Francis Johnson
Thomas Eborne
George Williams
George Norton
Henery Herrick
Peter Palfry
Roger Maury
Tho. Gardner
John Sibly
John Balch
Samuel Moore
John Holgraue
Ralph Fogge
John Horne
John Woodbury
William Traske
Townsend Bishop
Thomas Read
Rich. Raymond
Jeffry Massy
Edmond Batter
Elias Stileman
Edmond Giles
Richard Dauenport
John Black Leeeh
Tho. Scrugges
Will Allen
Will King
Rich. Rootes
John Moore
Dixey
John Sanders
Jacob Barney
Rich. Brackenbury
John Blacke
Joseph Pope
Peter Wolfe
Will Bann
Sam. A
Tho.
Edm hall
Joh ims
derman

Eliz. Endicott
Alice Hutchinson
Eliz. Leech
Alice Sharpe
Johane Johnson
Eliz. Holgraue
Margarett Bright
Eliz. Dauenport
Mary Alford
Sara Conant
Jane Alderman
Agnes Woodbury
Judith Raymond
Johane Cotta
Dorcas Verin
Sara Batter
Eedith palfry
Eedith Herick
Hanna Maurie
Susanna Fogge
Joane Watson
Alice Ager
Ann Ingersoll
Elly
Eliz.
Marth
Elyn B
Anne Dixy
Anne Bound
Anne Horne
Margery Balch
Presca Kendall
Anne Scarlett
Gertrude Elforde, exc.
Katherin Digweed
Anne Moore, vid.
Lidia Bankes
Mary Gigles
Mary Lord
Anne Garford
Susanna Goodwin
Brayne, vid
Hart
Joane Ames
Eliz. Williams
Mary Norton
Bethia Rea
Isabel Robinson
Anne Robinson, vid.
Turner, vid. dead
Sanders, dead
Mary Gedney
Deborah Holme

Bartholomew	Marsbal
no Browning	Eliz. Goldthwayt
Tho. Goldwhatye	Alice Baggerly
John Browne	Gift Gott
William Grose	Margaret Weston
Josua Holgraue	Anne Fiske
James Moulton	Mary Moulton
Jo. ffiske	Sara Standish
John Gedney	Arabella Norman
John Hardy	Anne Spooner
Tho Venner	Anne Barney
Hen Burchal	Mary Symonds
Edw. Batcheler	Margaret Jackson
Henery Skerry	Ruth Ames
Jn. Hinds	Elizabeth Blackleech
Tho. Spooner	Jane Anthrop
Jo. Simonds	Anne Pickworth
Jo. Jackson	Lucy Downing
Ric. Waters	Tryphen Myrrel
Benj. Felton	Anne Stretton
Tho. Olny	Ray
Wm. Clerk	Southwick
Wm. Robinson	arkes
Mich. Shaflin	Marg cuer
Tho. Avery	Mary
Eman Downing	
Jo. Hart	Mary Port
Daniel Ray	Holmes
James Gafford	Susan Greene
Wil Osburne	Dorothy Kenniston
Laurance Southwick	Alice Weekes
Tho. Antru—	Eliz. Pickering
Obadiah Holmes	Eliz. Dunton
Francis Higgison	Mary Grafton
Jos. Ketherell, drowned	Edwards
Hen Swan	Martha Tho'son
Jos. Grafton	

Salem, 1637.

At a x x meeting.

A qu ppounded to ye x x, by ye desire of ye Magist of yis 'try.

What way or course is best to be taken of ye x x s for Mrs, mayntenance, & ye continuance & upholding of x x ordinances?

R. ye x x hath taken it into yr 'sideration.

Will Walker. Or Bro: Walker's case brought to ye x x.

He had been distemped in head & distracted & s—yt time, suspended fr ye Scrt of ye Lo: Supp.

now yt he is judged to be recoued thx of, he is 'sidered.

Eldr. 1. that he hath not manifested hims. to be humbled for his miscarriages in yt time.

2. that he refuseth to come to Assembly & to ptake in ye seales.

3. yt he hath not brought his child lately borne to him unto baptisme.

4. yt commonly he neglects to beg a blessing, & to giue thankes at his eating.

W. he ansurs.

1. To ye keeping back his child.

yt he judged hims. as —sufficient to one ordin. as to ye othx.

now ye x x had judged him, as insufficient one.

E. during ye time of his distraction & since ye Elder had told him now of ye necessity of it.

W. Yet he could not 'ceive but—ye opinion of ye x x, he was yet accounted insufficient bec. of his distraction.

E. Then yis should haue humbled him before ye x x. but, whithx does he now desire co—ion with ye x x? for he had manifested his desire of return to Engl.

W. he would demur on it, & by reason bec. of his unfitnes thro. god's visit—ng of him.

E. Thus he charges god, not hims. a. he charges ye devil: bec. his fall ws fro his tempting of him.

p. chxged him of a lazie idlenes disposition, as ye cause.

W. he justifies him as yt.

R. he hath sometimes desired freedom for ye x x com—n a. for com—g into ye assembles, yt he hath sd yt he is not bound to sit within ye watch of ye congregation, but may be abroad in time of gods worp without ye meet—g house.

W. This he justifies also.

E. R. & c. There eyes (it is sd.) were fastened vpo—him a. many objects are tendered abroad to draw away ye mind.

To giueing of thanks at meate.

W. yt he is not bound to giue appa—ce of it.

E. 1. in' of offence.

2. in' of reverence so' gesture is to be used y—.

W. yt soule refernce suffice: & ye hatt may be on, &c.

E. to yt 1 Cor. 6-20.

When he had nothing to say—his defence furthx yr sd he was 'victed. yr urged: why he did not 'fesse his sin.

W. yt he desired not co—ion with ye x x unless ye xx were 'tented with ye hand of god on him.

'Twas objected ag him.

1. yt he would not stay fr—eating till othxs with him had begd a blessing.

2. yt he would answ ye x x why he saw cause onely.

3. yt he was not bound in giueing thanks to exprse words before god.

4. yt was supposed he was vy Ignorant.

p. What ye 5t comdt was? he would not tell—& asked what dice betwene vocation and Justification: he would but could not.

a. he 'fessed yt he read not a chap by ye whole weeke togethx.

a. yt he neglected ye duty of prayer comm-ly—family.

a. yt he had sd yt poynts of Evidenceing of salvation, are not to be medled with by Euill men.

a. yt ye pastor shold catechize his boy & not him.

And ye day after he was taken with a distracted distemp. in his head.

Issue. The x x gaue him an admonition out of p. 15, 19 & 21.

p. & vpon it presntly tur'y his back he went forth ye assembly.

Rob. Cotty.—His case decided by ye x x wch was yt he 'ceived hims. a memb. of this xx [he ca—before ye x x with a portugal cap on. as pr objected.

1. fr—ye dang— of it, intimating yt soule revence onely is ' ry to 1 Cor. 11-7.

2. ,try to good report. Warranted things are of good report. Provide all things honest in ye sight of all men.]

C. he a memb of yis x x.

1. Bec. he recomended to ye x x.

2. bec. he was admitted to subsription to ye covenant.

R. 1 yt he was not dismissed but onely recomened to ye x x wch implyed a purpose of stay for a time onely hx. to 2. if he were, it was thro' mistake of ye x x.

C. ye x x now dissolved f— whence he recomended go Es. 44, 5, Numb. 13.

R. 1. it is denyed,

2. grant it yt recommendats' be so; a man may bee off many x xs together.

P. to ye 2, scriftures, Numb. 13, was a rash vow.

a. yt ye x x enquired further upon him why he would subscribe & yt ye same day.

a. for recommendati thx are texes. tho not so manifest for dismission.

And yt in Col. 4, 8. 9, shewes yt yer is a distinction of membs & a pp'ety to euery church.

one of you & one of us.

a. ye Cov then not j'st made but renued.

R. yt dismission is but a terme of distinction for recommendation Si—lettrs dismissive are nothing but letters recommendatory.

a. as or Lord hath diuers housholds, now tho ye Lord sends a srvant of one by ye bye upon a message or ye like to ye othx. Those s'vents shall giue him Intertaynmt. But he shall haue no powr of transacting any thing in yt house: like as thx fr— whence he ca—. so heere.

A qu was moued to ye church. 'tribution, viz: Whithx 'tribution was. 1. to be eury Sab:

2. to be done so as euy one might take notice what each doth 'tribute.

R. It is referred to ye furthx thoughts of x x.

Vpon an other day.—S. Weston. The case of or Sister Weston brought before ye x x.

When a matter of difference betweene hx & anothx was at ye Court put unto ye Jury.

she excepted ag. 2 of the Jury men who were therefore offended, & with them others also.

E. demaunded her reason.

S. yt she did thinke it hx lib'ty.

E. True yt yr is a lib'ty. but exception implies a just cause or tis not equal. viz, yt he will not doe Justice, or, yt he regards not an oth, or yt he beare s— splene.

M. The law graunts it in case of 'sanguinitie or some nie relation. but then ye ground or reason must be shewed to ye Judge of ye Courte.

S. She denyed to render a reason, least yt impeachmt to his good name who—she excepted ag. g Mesy. & sd yt ye othx was all one with ye pty agt hx & more frequent with him yn any one memb. Mr. Batter.

R. Mr. Batt at Mr. Pesters with Mr. Noyse p ter ward y othx haue had frequent dealings thx.

& yt S. hath broken a rule. Mat 18 & Leu 19, yt suspect—g will —yt she delt not with y—

For ye things were s— long time before ye Courtes.

S. She knew not yr should be of ye Jury. she intended not a scandall.

a. yt she 'ceived yr in a temptation & gifts blind ye eyes of ye wise.

R. Jn aggravation of hx fault: it brought in ag hx.

hx carriage to or bro. Johnson.

hx disorderly carriag yn before ye x x.

hx y taxing our pastor of Hypocrisy.

hx opening ye greivance thx ag. a bro. in hx owne case.

hx not dealing with such suspected brethren before afr so long a time.

hx 'fessing she saw no sin in y—

wch aggravated hx exception.

hx taking ye occasion fr—suspitious reports ag. ym.

So she referred to ye next x x meeting.

Br. Walker ye 2d time.—Eldr: He asks or Bro. Walker how ye Case stands now with him.

W. 1. yt he justifies not his practise in ye time of his distraction.

2. yt tis not—hx powx to reforme h—s.

3. yt he stands at ye dispose of ye x x.

E. ye x x expectes his repentance.

W. he knowes not what to say to it.

E. What he answer to ye x x as touching ye withholding his child fro— Baptisme.

W. he silent.

E. ye x x desires satisfaction.

W. yt he lookes not vpon himselfe as meet for co—ion. But yt he shalbe meet when god shall turne his heart. (yet yt he well understands ye x x expectation) & yt bee 1 distemped 2 faith lesse.

Pastor. yt it apps he is undr a Temptation, & twere fit his case were commended to god by fasting & prayer.

E. Whithx he desires yis.

W. yt he knew not what to say to it.

Mr. Humfry.—Mr. Humfres case brought to ye x x.

Eldr. he 'plaines ag ye x x of Lin. yt twice he was thx hindred ye seales.

yt 1 bec. of s— difference betweene him & leiften. How who excepted ag. him.

ye 2d time, bec. one Thomkins was reci'i'd into xx co—ion yt day notwithstanding he excepted ag. him.

Pastor. it seemes as if ye x x yes denyed him not yt co—ion.

It was agreed vpo—yt if ye x x & he so esent yis x x may have ye whole mattr discouered by writing fr—both sids, & c.

This day Deborah Holden Bro Gidnies wife Bro Marshals wife, Ja. Moulton. made yer pfessions, & Testimonies were giuen of yer godly life. & ye next sab. yr were recej'd into x x— co—ion.

Some othx p pounded should haue come in, but were excepted agst.

Whx vpon warning was given by ye Elder yt ye reasons of yr exceptions might be brought in to him. before ye next x x meeting.

Deacons. p pounds to ye x x to 'sider of ye dispose of Mrs. Skelton's children.

10th of 11th month.—Mr. Humfres. case ye 2d time : — ye interim or Pastor was sent for to meet the Elders of ye x x at Lin to' fer with them. Who fr both pties brings this relation to ye x x.

1. yt he withdrew himselfe. bec. he was loth to offend ye x x.

2 yt ye 2d time he withdrew himselfe bec. he was offended by ye x x who tooke in an unworthy member.

To yis twas determined.

1. yt ye x x is to deale with Mr. Humfrey for withdrawing h—s. & not rathx for dealing with ye 1st Bro. prvately according to rule 1st.

p. hx — ye —terim fell in yis discourse. viz. qu whithx an Irritation unfitts for ye Scrt.

it should app bec. anger is a short madnes.

A. 1. Cor. 11. an examined ma—tis his duty to eate.

qu. Whithx a bro. may abstayne when he is like else to giue offence to an othx.

A. no.

2. yt ys x x is to write to yos Elders & x x.

1 bec yr take on memb ag. opposition & 2. privately.

2. bec. yr suffer ye unseasonable opposition of members, for members are not to reason betweene pp before ye x x by way of opposition, but membs must speake yer case to ye x x. yis writ—g to be st by vtue of ye c—ion yt is betweene yes x x s.

Sepatists.—The case of ye brethren yt withdrew yp f— ys x x brought forth.

Pastor yt yi doe it out of lf.

2. bec yi would ye peace of ye x x seing yi cannot peaceably hold co—ion with ye x x.

3. yi are not resolved as yi pretend whithx to goe.

a. yt yi object not ag. ye x x.

onely. yt those yt recejd on did not renounce publickly ye gou't of Engl. & yt one about hearing in Engl & yt one yt yi no libty of objecting in ye x x ag what is taught.

It t put to ye x xs 'sideration.

Whithx if 6 or 8 of ye x x. & wich we hope to be godly, yet not aggreeing with us in yer Judgmt may not haue a peaceable depture fro us to gathx a x x?

R. 1. These psons must jst giue ye x x satisfaction for yer schisme.

2 tis p bable yt these would not keep co—ion with this church.

3. These haue not asked leaue of ye x x but doe take leaue of ye x x.

It t determined these should be sent for.

Bro Weston. Elde desires of or Bro. Weston ye grounds of his withdrawing fr— ye x x.

W. yt he had already told ye Elders his grounds.

E. he desired him to declare y—to ye x x.

W. yt ye x x he counts to walk according to hx light or apprehension & he walks according to his. 1. ground. bec. he not suffered to ask qu. in publicke, but tis imputed to him for pride.

E. Tis desired yt he should refraine in reg. of ye season : — ye Lo. day.

but qu. is yr a ground of his withdrawing.

W. Yes bec. he count h—s bound prsently to object & so seek cleering of Truths.

E. he neu'r delt in private with ye elders for it.

W. 2. reas. bec. when he questioned about or pastor touching his comming off at Rotterdam : & what kind of x x yt was : Twas answered by s—, yt he was neithx fitt for x x, nor commonwealth.

3d. bec. some are admitted into yis x x from Rotterdam, tonching who—yi write yt yi ca— disorderly away : & if yt be a true x x, why are these recj'd withit satisfaction jst giuen.

Pastor. 1. yt he — towne 2 yeere & a halfe, & not objected ye ag.

2. yt ye 2d mt of this wife, who had no letters of dismission fro— thence.

qu. How far, or whithx a wife ought to seeke lettrs of dismission if ye man be dismissed.

R. by m. 1 yt not need full.

obj. she must co—in, in a way of god hx.

M. Tis satisfaction enough yt she be a memb of an othx church.

obj. yt x x hath manifested itselfe offended for her disorderly comming away.

Past. she thought not herselfe bound to req're yer letters, her husband being heere.

obj It should app as if yr might be something dissorderly observed in hx carriage since her husband's comming away.

Past. ye fault was of negligence by ye elders in not ppounding her to ye church·

It. t 'cluded yt letters should be wrott to Rotterda— about ye psons yt did disorderly come off thence.

W. 4. or. bec. or pastor oft hath sd in publick to yis effect. we had better part then liue contentiously.

pa. mt in a way of x.

ma. to ye 2d reas. yt twas he yt sd. he was neithx fitt for x x , nor commonwealth, bec. by his oft questioing greiues Magistr. & Mrs. & so yt he thinkes still : so long as he holds yt way.

hx Bro : Talby obj. yt it was an uncharitable speech.

R. yt he breakes a rule, seing he should haue delt with or Ma : privately. & ys kind of speaking is disorderly.

W. 5 reas. bec. yis church holds co—ion with such as doe hold co—ion with ye x x of Engl. viz. ye members of Mr. Lathrop's Congregation wch hath both co—ion with this Church & ye x x of Engl.

E. yt he should haue delt with yos members privately,

W. 6. bec. he is 'selled to follow peace: & yis is ye end of his practise yy.

E. But ye beginning must be peaceable too.

Ma. The case may be resolved in yis one question.

qu. Whithx one under sin in his opinion, not in ye opinion of ye x x, is a just ground of his leaving the church ?

W. a private scruple agst any is not to be made publick, Least othxs should be brought to scruple too.

Ma. Whithx a p'vate Scruple a ground of sepatj.

This course tends but to schisms & so to heresie wch is damnable,

W. This wch is now called damnable was once called lawfull.

M. he wch holds & teaches : yt one may breake off fr— a x x, upo— any discontent, or at taking offence ag. a brother &c is — a damnable herisy for it rases ye foundation of grace.

E. yt Bro. Westo— shew a text of Scr for his sepation.

W. He is silent.

E. he is desired to be at ye next x x meeting.

Bro: Ony. He is desired of ye x x ye grounds of his sepation.

Ony, yt he had told ym to ourpastor.

& he desired him to discour ym to ye x x.

& his withdrawing was but for ye pe sent.

bec. ye Scrt ca—suddenly before he could, enforme ye x x of his scruple.

Whxup—it prsently went abroad yt he was quite broken off.

Whx'as he 'ceived h—s unde a temptation & haueing touched a dead body ought to refrayne.

qn. by one whithx a man may breake off co—i on with a x x, if he see or suppose so— practize in ye x x yt he allow not off.

M. or p. Neg. gal. 5. Circumcisio—a fundamtal error yet not a ground or rule yr throu out ye Epist. of sepatio— f— yt x x.

So in ye x x of Corinth. Fornication.

So holding of Paule, so of Apollas.

So in Thyatyra Jezabells doctrine.

& yt no rule giuen for sepating fr — eyther.

O. Were such membs admitted?

M. There is ye same reason of admission & keep—g in of membs.

O. Such as haue ben defiled with idolatry haue ben hx admitted without washing yr hands by repts.

M. There practize giues satisfaction, in yt they joyne with ye true x x of x.

O. They may yet retayne Babilon in yr hearts.

M. We are to be more charitably affected to such.

O. Ezech. 43, 9, 10, 11.

M. Are not or brethren ashamed of yr doings when yi will not abide by it?

Bro: Gidney. he gaue ye right hand of Fellowship to me.

E. Why then so lately & not now?

O. yt his Judgt so altered, so as not know how to giue ye right hand of fellowship to ye x x.

pa. That you are so newly altered in yor judgmt Consider.

1. ye frame of yor h xt at yt time were you in a humble praying frame & in ye way of an ordin.

2. Does it carry you nigher to x now and to more humbleness.

3. you should have told it to ye elders. pa. 9, 7 rebuke a wise man &c.

Ezech 43, 4, yt place in Ezech 43, you misapply for fr— thence we note.

1 yos are most capable of ye things of god yt are ashamed of yr iniq'ties.

2. God will neur shew ye true formes of his house but to y— yt are washt from there inig'ties. & yes Formes are ye inwards, wch are ye seales.

3 The story is ys. This C had revolted & relapsed & ye p. ph exhorts hx to hx 1st loue agayne.

And told hx what she should see vpo—hx returne. for—yr falling off yi loosed ye patterns of ye house,

5. Can you challeng any of spiritual whoredo—amongst us.

O 1. yt if yos. yt relapsed. be — g— a x x state, ought to be ashamed ere yi capable &c.

go. much more. yos yt neu— — a x x state.

2 he could not challenge any without pejudice or offence. but yis p. fessors, of all men, were most bitter ag. sepation at jst.

who now joyne without being ashamed of yt.

p Such breaches as these in x x's gaue occasion to yt of yr bitternes.

O. Thx ought to be yet a publick detestation. ag yes courses. his Texes for sepation.

2 Cor. 6. be not unequally yoked.

M. yt yeilds no reaso— of his withdrawing unlease we were pved Idolaters.

& we haue a test opposeing this practice of his Reu 2, 18 20. Whx ye Lo: 1. acknowl. ye good in yt x x yn he speakes of her sins & Judgmts.

& in x p 24. he saies to yos not so sinned. Ile lay no other burden upon you, but &c.

The dn of idolatry or of circumcision may be heild in a x x & yt ye x x a true x x.

P. yt place. 2 Cor. 6, mt of idolatry out of ye xx & ye Ap. wrot to ye whole x x.

O mt yt yi should co— out fr ye Idolaters amongst themselues.

R. mt of yr being among Idolaters & ye Joy—g to yr idoll feasts.

a. x. sepated not f— ye Jewish Synagogues.

O. ye diuers reasons of yt. fr— ye p phicies were not fulfilled.

& x co —icated not in yr corruptions.

P. In Zach. 11: yr is set downe ye worp. x did co—icate in.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ODD NOTES.—NORMAN KINGS 1066—1154.

William the Conqueror was King of England from 1066 to 1087. He had three children, William Rufus, who succeeded him, Henry, who succeeded William Rufus, and Adelaide, who married Stephen, Count of Blois. Henry had a daughter Matilda, who married 1st the Emperor Henry V, and had no issue, and married 2dly, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, by whom she had a son, afterwards Henry II. At the death of Henry I, however, Stephen, son of Stephen of Blois and Adelaide, usurped the throne, which properly belonged to his cousin Matilda. After some strife however, the matter was settled by Stephen's promising to give up the crown at his death, to Matilda's son Henry, which was done.

House of Plantagenet 1154—1399. Henry II died in 1189, and left Richard, Coeur de Lion, Geoffrey, and John, surnamed Lackland. Richard left no children, Geoffrey left a son Arthur, who was murdered by his Uncle, John, and John left two sons, Henry III, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Henry III left Edward I, surnamed Longshanks, and Edmund the Humpbacked, Earl of Lancaster, whose great granddaughter Blanche, 1st heiress of the rights of Lancaster, married John of Gaunt, 3d son of Edward III. Edward I left a son Edward II, of Caernarvon, who left a son Edward III. Edward III had Edward the Black Prince, William Lionel, Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Edward, Duke of York.

Edward the Black Prince had a son Richard II, who was deposed 1399. Lionel, d of Clarence had a daughter Philippa, who married Edw. Mortimer, and was mother of Roger Mortimer, the father of Anna Mortimer, who married Richard, son of Edmund, d of *York*, Edward III's youngest son.

John of Gaunt married Blanche of *Lancaster*, and had two sons, John Beaufort, a natural son, and Henry, who usurped his cousin Richard's crown, and became Henry IV.

House of Lancaster (Red Rose) 1399—1460. Henry IV had a son Henry V, who married Catharine of France, and she afterwards married Owen Tudor, and had a son Edmund Tudor, Earl of *Richmond*, who married Margaret Beaufort, 2d heiress of Lancaster, (and grand daughter of John Beaufort, natural son of John of Gaunt) and had a son who became Henry VII. Henry V had a son Henry VI, who was King until 1460, when his opponent Edward IV became King.

House of York (white Rose) 1460—1485.—Edward IV was descended from Lionel, d of Clarence, through Anne Mortimer, his grand daughter, who married Richard, son of Edmund of *York;* he was succeeded by his son Edward V, who was murdered in the Tower by command of his uncle Richard, 1483.

Richard III reigned until defeated and slain at Bosworth, 1485, when Henry VII, son of Edmund Tudor and Margaret Beaufort, ascended the throne, and united the roses, by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV.

House of Tudor 1485—1603. Henry VII had Margaret, who married James IV (Stuart) King of Scotland, Henry, who married Catharine of Arragon, and Mary, who married 1st Louis XII of France, and 2ndly Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

Margaret and James of Scotland had a son James V, who had a daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, cruelly beheaded 1587, leaving a son, James VI of Scotland, and afterwards James I of England. Henry VIII had by Catherine of Arragon, a daughter Mary; by his second wife Anne Boleyn, a daughter Elizabeth, and by his third wife Jane Seymour, a son, who succeeded his father as Edward VI. Mary, and Charles Brandon had a daughter Frances, who married Henry Grey, d of Suffolk, and a daughter Eleanor, who married the Earl of Cumberland, and had a daughter who married the Earl of Derby. Frances Brandon and Henry Grey had three daughters, Jane, beheaded 1554, Catharine and Mary.

Edward VI d in 1552, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, who died 1558, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, who died 1603, leaving no children, when the crown passed over to James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart.

House of Stuart 1603—1689. James I of England had two children, Charles I, beheaded 1649, and Elizabeth, who married Frederic, Elector Palatine, and had Sophia, married to Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Hanover.

Charles I had Charles II, who died 1685, Mary, who married William II, Prince of Orange, and James 2d, who abdicated 1689; his children were, Mary, who married William III, Prince of Orange, son of William II and Mary Stuart, Anne, Queen 1702—14, and Jas. Edward, who had Charles Edward, died at

Rome 1788, and Henry of York, Cardinal, who died 1807, the last Stuart.

House of Hanover, since 1714. At the death of Queen Anne, the crown passed over into the possession of George I, son of Sophia and Ernest Augustus of Hanover.

George I was succeeded by his son George II, who had a son Frederic Lewis, who dying 1751, left a son George III, married to Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, by whom he had among others George IV, William IV, and Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent. George IV died in 1830, and William IV died 1837: Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent, married Victoria, Princess of Saxe Coburg, and died 1820, leaving a daughter Victoria, born May 24, 1819, who succeeded William IV in 1837, and who now reigns.

MEDICINES IN "OLD TIMES."

It is a prevalent notion that the present time is worse, in every respect, than any former period.—We talk about "good old times" as if the present were 'very bad times," and there was nothing good nowadays. Ours is called an age of "humbug,"—and perhaps in some respects it is,—but with all its short-comings, but a very little knowledge of history is required to show us the vast improvements in Art, Science, and Religion even, that have been made from time to time, and that the world is, upon the whole, continually growing wiser and better.

I am led to these remarks by the perusal of "A Treatise of the choisest Spagyricall Preparations," printed in 1651,—containing some receipts for medicines which are very curious, and perhaps some may think *un*worthy to be preserved. I have, however, thought it best to send you a few samples for publication, in order to show what "doses" people were willing to submit to in the old Witchcraft, Quaker-whipping times, that we so much reverence:

"*The Quintessence of Snakes, Adders or Vipers.*—Take of the biggest and fattest Snakes, Adders or Vipers which you can get in June or July, cut off their heads, take off their skins and unbowell them, then cut them into small pieces and put them into a Glass of a wide mouth, and set them in a warm Balneo, that they may be well dryed, which will bee done in three or four days. Then take them out, and put them into a bolt head, and pour on them of the best alcolizated Wine as much as will cover them six or eight fingers' breadth. Stop the glass Hermetically, & digest them fifteen days in Balneo, or so long til the Wine be sufficiently covered, which poure forth; then pour on more of the foresaid Spirit of Wine till all the quintessence be extracted: Then put all the tinged spirits together, and draw off the spirit in a gentle Balneo till it be thick at the bottom; on this pour Spirit of Wine Caryophyllated, and stir them well together, and digest them in a Circulatory ten days; then abstract the spirit of Wine, and the quintessence remaineth at the bottom perfect.

This quintessence is of extraordinary vertue for the purifying of the blood, flesh and skin, and consequently of all diseases therein. It cures also the Falling-sickness, & strengthens the Brain, Sight and Hearing, and preserveth from Gray hairs, reneweth Youth, cureth the Gout, Consumption, causeth Sweat, is very good in and against Pestilential infections."

"*Aqua Magnanimitatis is made thus:*—Take of Ants or Pismires a handful, of their eggs two hundred, of Millepides, or Woodlice, one hundred, of Bees one hundred and fifty, digest all these in two pints of Spirit of Wine, being very well impregnated with the brightest soot. Digest them together the space of a month, then pour off the clear spirit and keep it safe. Good to stir up the Animall spirits. It doth also wonderfully irritate the spirits that are dulled and deaded with any cold distemper."

Here is a receipt for another "Aqua Magnanimitatis," something like the above, which is represented to be of "excellent use to stir up the animall spirit: in so much that John Casmire Palfe-grave of the Rhene, and Seyfrie of Collen, Generall, against the Turks, did always drinke of it when they went to fight, to increase Magnanimity and courage, which it did even to admiration."

"*Elixir of Mummie.*—Take of mummie, (viz. of man's flesh hardened,) cut small four ounces, Spirit of Wine terebinthinated ten ounces, put them into a glazed vessell, (three parts of four being empty,) which set in horse-dung to digest for the space of a moneth, then take it out and express; let the expression be circulated a month, then let it run through *Manica Hippocratis*, then evaporate the spirit till that which remaines in the bottome be like an Oil, which is the true Elixir of mummie.

This elixir is a wonderfull preservation against all infections, also very Balsamicall."

There are some receipts in this book so bad that they would, I believe, cause the hairs of your correspondent, who furnished you awhile since with a "Metson to make the hair groe,"—to "stand upon an end."

There are also in this singular book some very curious experiments, a few of the titles of which I will give.

"To make the representation of the whole world in a Glasse."

"To make powder that by spitting upon shall be inflamed."

"To make artificiall Pearle, as glorious as any Orientall."

"To make Gold grow and be increased in the earth."

"The author of this work says in his Preface, "I rejoyce as at the break of the day, after a long tedious night, to see how this solary art of Alchymie begins for to shine forth out of the clouds of reproach which it hath a long time undeservedly layen under. There are two things which have a long time eclipsed it, viz., the mists of ignorance, and the specious lunary body of deceit. Arise, O Sunne of truth, and dispell these interposed fogs, that the Queen of Arts may triumph in splendour!"

I think I have given your readers a sufficient *dose*, and will therefore for the present take leave of the subject. B.

TREES IN THE STREETS OF SALEM, IN MAY, 1859.

The following account of the different varieties of trees, that are growing in the principal streets of Salem, during the month of May, 1859, has been prepared with much care and accuracy, by a gentleman of this city, who has devoted considerable attention to this subject.

It is valuable, and worthy of record, as exhibiting the degree of interest, which is devoted, at this time, to the planting of trees in the streets and public places of this city.

Streets.	Elm.	Maple.	Horse Chestnut.	Linden.	Ash.	Poplar.	Cherry.	Acacia.	Total.
Andrew,	18	1	2	6					27
Andover,			1			1			2
Arabella,	4	16	2	2	4	1		4	33
Boston,	47	10	33	4	7		14		115
Beckford,	8								8
Bridge,	57	7	6		6	3	1		80
Buffum,	48	10	7		2		23		90
Brown	8	27							35
Briggs,	1				1				2
Broad,	70	17		2	8				97
Barton,	2	4		2	1				9
Beach,					2				2
Barr,	15	8	10		3	1	9		46
Chestnut,	70	5	1		5	1			82
Cambridge,			4						4
Church,	6	3	3						12
Carlton,	8								8
Cherry,	4	1	1		2		4		12
Cedar,	14	6	2	2	4		1		29
Cabot,	1	4							5
Central,	8				1				9
Cross,	11		4						15
Downing,	9	3							12
Derby,	12								12
Dearborn,	102	5	4		2	2		2	117
Everett,	5							1	6
Essex,	131	20	4		3			2	160
Endicott,	18	2			3		3		26
Federal,	139	7	29	6	8				189
Flint,	1								1
Friend,			4						4
Forrester,	16		1						17
Felt,	1	41		6	15				63
Grove	31	10	2		6				49
Harbor,	50	1	5						56
Hancock,		6					4		10
Hathorne,	26		4		5				35
High,	7								7
Holly,		25		17	3				45
Laurel,		9							9
Lafayette,	129	15	18	1		3			166
Lagrange,	4	1			4		28		37
Leach,	3	3		1	5				12
Lynde,		2							2
Mount Vernon,	3	4					12		19
Mason,	34	4	2		2				42
Margin,	12		2	2	1		1		18
March,	10		1						11
Newbury,	2								2
Norman,	6								6
North,	83	17	2		4		2		108
Northey,	6	3							9
Oak,	16		3						19
St. Peter,	9	6							15
Pond,	5		2						7
Porter,	3		3						6
Prescott,	5		1						6
Pickering,	7								7
Pickman,	6	3	6	1	1				17
Pleasant,	10	13		5	2	1			31
River,	1				1				2
Ropes,	5								5
Salem,	9								9
Summer,	36	13	12	5	5				71
Skerry,	6					1			7
School,	15	1	1		3	2			22
Saunders,	10		5						15
South,	12	11	9			2	2		36
Turner,	2								2
Union,	13	1	1						15
Webb,	23								23
Webb, East,	6								6
Walter,	10	6	2		1		2		21
Whittemore,	4		12	3	3	7	3		32
Around Common,	160	12			10				182
Avenue to Alms House.	20		2						22

Elms, 1656; Maples, 353; Horse Chestnut, 213; Linden, 65; Ash, 133; Poplar, 24; Cherry, 110; Acacia, 8. In addition to the above, there are,—in Brown street 2 Tree of Heaven, or Ailanthus; Briggs street 2 Oak; Broad Street 1 Locust; Federal street 1 Buttonwood; Friend street 9 Oak; Felt street 9 Birch; Harbor street 1 Tree of Heaven; Hathorne street 2 Buttonwood; North street 4 Willow, 1 Buttonwood; Oak street 1 Walnut; St. Peter street 1 Tree of Heaven; Porter street 1 Poplar;

Prescott street 1 Balm of Gilead; Summer street 1 Willow; Ropes street 1 Walnut; total number of trees, 2615. A.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12.

Mary Williams, 9th mo., 1654.

Will of Marie Williams of Salem, Widow, dated 1st 8 mo., 54', mentions her late husband, George Williams; her daus Sarah, Marie Bishop, Bethia, sons Samuel, Joseph and George. Witness—Ric'd Bishop, Thos. Robbins.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £131 3s 3d, taken by Elias Stileman jr & Ric'd Bishop, 17 9 mo., 1654.

Eliz'h Hardy, 10th mo., 1654.

Inventory of estate of Elizh Hardy of Salem, widow, amounting to £151 9s 2d, taken by Wm. Dodge, Wm. Dixey, 11th 9th mo., 1654.

"Granted to Jno. Hardy, 27 10th mo., 1638: To fforty acres of vpland and sixe Acres of meadow to the East of that land which is graunted to Richard Dodge." vera copia as Atteste. pr Edmond Batter.

25th of the 8th month, 1653.

Gervis Garford of Salem, in the County of Essex, Gent., hath sold vnto Elizabeth Hardie of the same, widdow, for eighty pounds sterling, his dwelling house & ten acres of Arable land, & six acres & a quarter of meddow neare drapers point, vppon Bass Riuer, adjoyning to the house, and eighty Acres of land lying betweene Lord's Hill & Birchplaine, on Bass Riuer side, within the presincts of Salem, as by deed dated the 26th day of 7'ber, 1653, aprth.

This is a true copy out of the records for the County in Salem, fr me.

Hillard Veren, Recorder.

Nath' Merrill, Mar., 1655.

Will of Nath'l Merrill of Newbury, dated Mar. 8, 1654, mentions wife Susanna, daughter Susanna, under 21 years, sons Nathaniel, John Abraham Daniel and Abel all under 21 years, appoints son Nath'l ex'or. Bro John Merrill & Anthony Somerby overseers, witnesses—Richard Knight, Anthony Somerby and John Merrill. probate 27th 1st mo., '55. deceased March 16, 1654–5.

Inventory of above estate taken Mar. 23, 1654–5, by Dan'l Thurston, Richard Knight and Archelaus Woodman, amounting to £84 6s returned 27th 1st mo., '55.

Alice Ward, Mar., 1655.

Inventory of estate of Alice Ward of Ipswich, widow, taken 23d 11th mo., 1654, amounting to £37 14s 11d, by Robert Lord, John Warner.

Joannah Smith the wife of Thos. Smith, Elizabeth wife of Jacob Perkins and Jane wife of Francis Jordan, testifie that Alice Ward, widdow, on her death bed did commit Sarah Ward, her daughter in law, vnto John Baker & Elizabeth his wife, the said Sarah Ward & her estate to bring vp the said child in the feare of god, and gave vnto the sd Elizabeth Baker her keyes & desired her to take of all, & to discharge her debts

Sworne in Court held at Ipswich the 27th 1st mo., 1655. Robert Lord, Cleric.

Eleanor Tresler. 4th mo., 1655.

Will of Eleanor Tresler of Salem, dated 15th Feb., 1654, mentions sons Henry & Nicholas to be joint ex'ors. son Edward, 2 daughters, grandchildren John Phelps, Elezabeth, Sam'l & Edward, children of Nicholas, mentions legacy bequeathed by her late husband to his daughter in England, to wit., £10.—witness—Robt. Moulton, senr., George Gard-

ner, Robt. Moulton, jr. proved 26th 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate (dated Mar. 13, 1654–5.) amounting to £131 03s 06d, returned by Robert Moulton & George Gardner.

Wm. Knight, 4*th mo.*, 1655.

Will of Wm. Knights, dated Dec. 2 1653, mentions wife Elizabeth, son John, dau Ane & her children, son Francis, dau Hanna, John Ballard, Nathaniel Ballard. after the legacies are paid to these above, the balance to be equally divided between his four children which he had by his last wife Eliz'h—eldest son Jacob to have a double portion. appoints his wife Eliz'h ex'x, his brother Nicholas Potter and George Keasur and John Witt to be overseers. Witness John Faller & Nicholas Potter. probate 28th 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £154 15s 0d, returned 28th 4th mo., '55.

Robt. Moulton, 4*th mo.*, 1655.

Will of Robt. Moulton, senr., dated Salem 20th Feb'y, 1654, mentions son Robert, & appts him ex'r, dau Dorothy Edwards, grandson Robert Moulton, goodwife Buffum and Joshua Buffum, witnessed by George Gardner, Henry Phelps & Nich. Phelps. probate 26th 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £113 08s, returned 26th 4th mo., '55, by Henry Phelps & John Hill.

Henry Fay, 1655.

Inventory of estate of Henry Fay, weaver, of Newbury, who deceased June 30th, 1655, taken by Thomas Hart. Thomas Browne & Abraham Tappan.

Richard Pike testified that Henry Fay said to him that if he died a single man, then his brother's children shall have this estate.

Robert Long, James Jackman, and Jane Jackman all testify that said Henry Fay said at several different times he wished his brother's children to have his estate if they came for it, and wished his friends Robert Long and James Jackman to take charge of it.

John Jackson, 4*th mo.*, 1656.

Will of John Jackson, sen'r, dated 31st 11th mo., 1655, mentions wife Mary, Margaret Nouel, appts son John Jackson exor. appts Wm. Browne, Edma Batter overseers. proved 4th mo., 1655.

Inventory of above estate taken 10th 1st mo., 1655–6, amounting to £20 6s.

Thomas Wickes, 4*th mo.*, 1656.

Will of Thos. Wickes of Salem, dated 9th 7th mo., 1655, mentions wife Alice, and appts her extx., daughters Bethia & Hannah, appts loving cousin and friends Robert Gray, Mr. Edmond Batter & Elias Stileman, jr., to be overseers.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £192 10s, returned by Hilliard Veren & Thomas Cromwell.

John Hart, 4*th mo.*, 1656.

Inventory of estate of John Hart, Marbleh'd, taken 14th 1st mo., 1655–6, by Moses Maverick and Jona Bartlett, amounting to £74 10s 06d.

Fran. Parratt. 7*th mo.*, 1656.

Inventory of estate of Francis Parratt, dated 15th 7th mo., 1656, amounting to £357 5s 0d.

James Noyes, 9*th mo.*, 1656.

Will of James Noyes, dated Oct. 17, 1656, mentions wife and children, cousin Thomas Parker, brother Nicholas Noyes. probate Nov. 26, 1656.

James Noyes died Oct. 21, 1656.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £657 11s 4d, returned by Rich'd Knight Anthony Somerby & Benjamin Swett.

Mrs. Sara Noyes, the wife of deceased, makes oath to the same.

Rebecca Bacon, 9th mo , 1655.

Will of Reckah Bacon, Widow, dated 1st mo., 23, 1655. mentions son Isaac as her sole executor, Robert Buffum to assist him, Isaac being under age; cousins Anne Potter & Rich'd Cheelcraft; frees her man Cornelius & gives him a suite of clothes; sister Buffum, Sister Coys, Sister Sugthwike, Sisters Avery & horniss, Brother Robert Buffum, appoints Brothers Joseph Boys Thomas Avery & Nath'l Felton, overseers: mentions Sister Judith, in Old England, cousin John, Georg Bedell. proved 29th 9th mo., '55.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £195 8s 6d, taken 10th July, 1655, by Thos. Gardner, sr., & Joseph Boyes.

John Bridgeman, 9th mo., 1655.

Will of John Bridgman mentions Mr. Perkins after his claims paid, the rest to go to his daughter. probate 9th mo., '55.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £69 07s 07d, taken by Walter Price, Philip Cromwell.

John Ward, Mar., '56.

Will of John Ward, sometimes resident at Ipswich, in New England, dated 28th December, 1652, mentions to Cousin Nath'l Ward, the son of his Uncle, Nath'l Ward: I doe give that house & land given me by my father in his will, and that lies in East Mersey, in the County of Essex in Old England; cousin Ward's, of wethersfield, two youngest sons, Cousin John Barker of Boxted in Essex, his Eldest dau, Anna, son Sam'l. to his mother's poore kindred ten pounds; Cousin Sam'l Sherman's, who some years since lived in Boston, N. E.. two youngest sons, both under age; Cousin Philip Sherman of Rhote Island; gives books to Thomas Andrews of Ipswich, and also his Chirurgry chest, & all yt is now in it.—Robert Paine, ex'or.

The balance of his estate be laid out in a standing anuity, to be bestowed on the Harvard Coll, Cambridge, and would have it improved to the convenient bringing up & maintaining of one or more schollars in the said College, & only such to have benefit whose estate or friends cannot otherwise maintain. 14 lbs to be spent on his funerall. proved 25th 1st mo., 1656.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £308 7s 3d, returned 25th 1st mo., 1656.

John Friend, 1st mo., 1656.

Will of John Friend, dated 4th 11th mo., 1655, mentions son Sam'l, apt. exor., daus Eliz'h Pecker, Bethiah Heeter & son James, his friends, Wm. Dodge & William King, overseers. Witnesses—George Emery, Edmund Grover & Henry Herrick. proved 27th 1st mo., 1656.

Henry Smith, Mar., 1656.

Inventory of Estate of Henry Smith of Rowley, taken 1st mo., 16, 1654-5, amounting to £19 12s 0d, returned by Rich'd Swan & John Smith. allowed 25th 1st mo., 1656.

Henry Sewall, Mar., '56.

Inventory of Mr. Sewall's estate, amounting to £364 6s 8d, returned by Joseph Jewett, Mathew Boyle & John Tod. allowed Mar. 25, 1656.

Hugh Chaplin, Mar., 1657.

Will of Hugh Chaplin of Rowley, dated 15th 1st mo., 1654, mentions his beloved wife, Elizabeth ——— Thomas Mighell Maximilliam Jewett, Thomas Diconson, Hew Smith, John Pickard, eldest son John. Witnesses—Joseph Jewett, John Pickard. proved 31st March, 1657.

Anthony Newhall, Mar., 1657.

Will of Anthony Newhall, dated 14th Jan., 1656, mentions grand-children Richard & Elizabeth Hood, daughter Mary m'd son John, Nath'l Pentland, Matthew Farrington and John Fuller to be overseers. proved 31st Mar. 1657.

Inventory of above estate taken 6th 12th mo., 1656, returned by Richard Hood, 31st Mar., 1657.

John Pickering, 5th mo., 1657.

Will of John Pickering of Salem, dated 30th 5th mo., 1655, mentions sons John & Jonathan, minors, wife Elizabeth, wife & two sons, exors John Horne & Edmond Batter, overseers. proved 1st 5th mo., 1657.

Henry Bullock, 5th mo., 1657.

Inventory of estate of Henry Bul'ock, jr., taken by Thos. Gardner & Nath'l Felton, 10th 10th mo., 1656, amounts to £121 2s 0d.

John Trumbull's, Sept., 1657.

Inventory of estate of John Trumbull of Rowley, amounts to £225 17s 10s, returned by his widow, Ann Trumbull, 29th 7th mo., 1657.

Agnes Balch. 9th mo., 1657.

Inventory of estate of Agnes Balch, amount £9 11s 0d, taken by John Rayment & Henry Herrick, Nov. 25, 1657, and List of debts agst. her estate, which accrued in her long sickness due to Benj. Balch, amount £18 12s.

Testimony of Anna Woodbury, widdow, Nicholas Patch, her brother and El— his wife, Abagail Hill, Rachel Rayment, Hannah Woodbury, John Grover, that the estate of Agnes Balch, dec'd, is not enough to satisfy the charges of Benj'n Balch ag'st the estate for charges in her long weakness and sickness.

Humphrey Gilbert, Jan., 1657–8.

The petition of the four daughters, with their husbands of Humphrey Gilbert, who deceased Jan. 20, 1657, to the Court to grant administration to their four husbands, Peter Harvey, Ric'd Palmer, Rich'd Comer, Moses Ebberne. Administration granted according to the petition.

John Robinson, Mar., 1658.

Will of John Robinson of Ipswich, wheelright, dated 27th Feb., 1657, gives to Alice Howlett, wife of Thos. Howlett; £10 to Thos. Howlett, Jr., his Chest and all his tools, & to Thos. Howlett, Sr. all the rest of his estate, & appts him sole exor. Witness—James & John How. proved 30th Mar., 1658.

Inventory of above estate amount £54 19s 6d, debt due to Ensign Howlett for diet, clothes, attendance and physicke. £22 16s 3d allowed 30th Mar., 1658.

Humphrey Gilbert, Mar., 1658.

Copy of will of Humphrey Gilbard of Ipswich, dated 14th 12th mo., 1657, mentions son John, wife Eliz'h, daughter Abigail, & her 3 sisters all under age.

Administration granted to Elizabeth, the widow, the 30th Mar., 1658.

Inventory of above estate, amount £53 0s 11d, taken by Philip Fowler,

Thos. Wathen, 4th mo., 1658.

Inventory of estate of Thos. Wathen, dec'd, taken 30th 4th mo., 1658, amount £7 14s 2d, returned by his kinsman, Ezekiel Wathen, 30th June, 1658.

Thos. Scudder, 4th mo., 1658.

Will of Thos. Scudder of Salem, dated 30th Sept., 1657, mentions wife Elizabeth, and appts her sole ex'x., his children, John, Thomas and Henry Scudder, and dau Eliz'h Bartholomew, grandchild Thomas Scudder, son of son William Scudder dec.

Witnesses—Richard Waters, Wm. Traske, Joseph Boyle, Thomas Lowthop.

Proved 29th June, 1658.

Thomas Scudder deceased 1657.

Inventory of above estate, amount £73 08s 4d, returned by Eliz'h Scudder.

Geo. Bunker, 4th mo., 1658.

Inventory of George Bunker amounts £300 15s 0d, returned by Jane Bunker, widow, 29th June, 1658.

James Patch, June, 1658.

Will of James Patch of Beverly, dated 7th Aug., 1658, mentions wife Hannah, gave her his house & land, orchard, and all the appurtenances to it belonging to his home grounds, together with that parcel of meadow lying near Ric'd Dodge; also 2 cows, together with ten acres of Rocky Land, lying on the east side of the home lott, for wood; also all the household stuffe in the house for the competent bringing up of the children.

To his son, James Patch, all his part of the farme called Knights farm, both upland & meadow, all his right there be it more or less, together with the two youngest oxen & the horse.

To his dau, Mary Patch, two oxen, which are eldest, with one cow; also ten acres of upland Laying near Sawyer's Playne.

To his dau Elizabeth, two middle oxen, with one cow; also 20 acres of upland laying by the land called Eastyes land, and joyning next unto said land; appoints his wife Hannah to be extx.; his two brothers, Nicholas Woodbury & John Patch to be overseers of his will.

Witnesses—Thos. Lowthropp & John Hill.

Proved 2d 9th mo., '58.

Inventory of above estate, amount £250 16s taken 27th 6th mo., 1658, by Ric'd Brackenbury, John Thorndike, Zabulon Hill & John Hill.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MINUTES FOR A GENEALOGY OF GEORGE JACOBS, SENIOR, OF SALEM VILLAGE, WHO SUFFERED THE UTMOST PENALTY OF THE LAW DURING THE WITCHCRAFT TRAGEDY, ENACTED IN NEW ENGLAND, A. D., 1692.

BY C. M. ENDICOTT OF SALEM, A DESCENDANT IN THE SEVENTH GENERATION.

GEORGE JACOBS, SENR., (the picture of whose trial for witchcraft, before one of those extraordinary tribunals, partaking both of a civil and ecclesiastical character, embellishes the entrance to the libraries of the Essex Institute and Salem Atheneum, in Plummer Hall) was condemned and executed during that fearful delusion, when upwards of eighty years of age, without any regard to the usual rules of evidence or other proprieties of law.—His principal accusor was his own misguided granddaughter, Margaret, into which she was terrified while confined in prison for the same offence, by the intriguings, threatenings and revilings, upon her own confession, of the designing *Magistrates*, or rather *Inquisitors*, to save her own life, being then only in her 17th year. He resided in what was then called Salem Village, in a secluded spot off east from the main road leading to Topsfield, and bordering upon the river leading to Danvers Port. He appears to have bought his homestead of Richard Waters and Joyn, his wife, containing a house and ten acres of land, the 20th Nov., 1658; to which he afterwards added about four acres more, consisting partly of marsh land. He was also the owner of four acres and six cow leases on Ryall side, being the opposite shore, which he received by grant from the town of Salem. This portion of land remained in the family during the childhood and minority of my great grandmother, Elizabeth Jacobs, the great granddaughter of the guiltless victim, George Jacobs, senr., she being the daughter of John, who was the son of George, jr., who was the son of George senr. The old lady has often told me that previous to her marriage with my great grandfather, John Endicott, she used to paddle a canoe across the river, and milk the cows in this very lot—and when the tide was out, she was accustomed to pass and repass over the flats upon a row of stones, or sort of causeway, leading to the channel on both sides—wade through the channel with her milk pails and milk, and upon her return safely deposit her burden in her father's house. These stones, we have been told by some of the family still residing upon the old homestead, remain to this day, a memorial, not only of the perseverance of our fathers, but of the hardihood of her who so often passed and repassed with the fruits of her

daily toil and industry over them. She was a woman of uncommon energy of character. It is related of her, that, when Col. Pickering, on his way to the battle of Bunker Hill halted his regiment at the Bell Tavern, Danvers, she was so displeased that she walked up to the Col. and said, "Why on airth don't you march? don't you hear the guns at Charlestown?" George senr's Will is dated 29th Jan., 1691-2, and probated the October following. His wife's name was Mary. It would seem as if his extreme age and feebleness (being so bowed down with decrepitude and the weight of years that he required two canes* for support,) should have shielded him from such a wretched fate and ignoble death at the hands of those inexorable officers of (miscalled) *justice*, who seemed determined upon the judicial murder and indiscriminate slaughter of all whom malice, credulity or misguided fanaticism, might select for their victims. It is related of Chief Justice Stoughton, that when he heard the Governor had reprieved several victims who were awaiting sentence of death in prison, he was so displeased that he left the Bench and went out of the Court, exclaiming, "Who it is obstructs the course of justice I know not. We were in a way to have cleared the land of these, &c. The Lord be merciful to the country." In contrition of his errors and bigotry, it is said Mr. Stoughton afterwards erected the building known as "*Stoughton Hall*," for the use of Harvard College. It is, however, difficult to see any connection between the two circumstances.

There is a tradition in the family that their ancestor was hung upon a tree on his own land and buried there. [vide Felt's Annals, Vol. 2, P. 482.] This conflicts with another tradition, related by my great grandmother, that his body after execution *in Salem*, was brought home for burial by his own son, who witnessed his execution, across the back of a horse, cart ways being almost unknown at that period, except upon the most frequented roads, all others being what were called *bridle paths*. Tradition has, however, kept alive the fact that he was buried upon his own land.—His reputed grave has been recently opened, and found to contain the bones of a very aged person, without a single tooth in the jaw, which were no doubt the remains of this inoffensive, artless, but unfortunate old gentleman. It would be a melancholy satisfaction could we with equal certainty identify the graves of the victims of this dire delusion, the records of which fill such a dark page in our New England history.

Children of George and Mary—[2]George Jacobs, Jr. m. Rebecca Frost; [2]Ann Jacobs m. John Andrew, and had 3 daughters, viz: Ann, [3]Elizabeth and [3]Mary.

Second Generation.

[2]George Jacobs resided upon the old homestead, and died previous to 1718; m. Rebecca Frost, 9 12, 1674. Both he and his wife, with their daughter Margaret, suffered persecution during the witchcraft delusion. Upon being accused he fled, but his wife and daughter Margaret were imprisoned, but were afterwards released. Children of [2]George and Rebecca—[3]Margaret, b. Nov. 26, 1675. The unfortunate accuser of her grandfather: [3]George,† b. Sept. 29, 1677. Was living in Wells, Me., and sold his portion of his father's farm to his brother John, in 1718. Married there in 1702, where his posterity are now

Fourth Generation.

[3]George Jacobs lived in Wells, Me., married

*The very canes are now in the possession of the Essex Institute.

†*Third Generation.*

[3]George Jacobs, b. in Salem Village, now Danvers Port, Sept. 29, 1677, was a grandson of the guiltless victim George Jacobs, senr. Removed to Wells, Me., about 1700, where he married, first, December 16, 1701 Hannah Cussins, m. 2d. Oct. 21, 1742. Elizabeth Burnham. Children, [4]Lydia b. Dec. 11, 1702, m. Joseph Stevens Nov. 11, 1726; [4]Hannah b. June 20, 1705 m. John Stevens June 10, 1727; [4]George. m Mary Woodman Dec. 10, 1741; [4]John m. Deborah Ware Oct. 30 1745; [4]Pricilla m. Joshua Barlett Sept. 16 1736; [4]Elizabeth m. Joseph Taylor Sept. 1734; [4]Benjamin m. Hannah Bank of York, Me., June, 1750.

probably living; [3]John, b. Sept. 18, 1679; [3]Jonathan, b. July 29, 1681; no memorial of him; [3]Mary, b. May 20, 1683.

Third Generation.

[3]John Jacobs, b. Sept. 18, 1679. Lived upon the old Jacobs homestead, in Salem Village. Married for his first wife, Abigail ——, for his second wife, Lydia ——. Died 1764, a. 85. Was a member of the 1st Church, Salem. He and his brother George were petitioners for the South Danvers Church, called at that time the Middle Precinct, in March, 1710–11. Was a substantial land holder.—Will dated June 24, 1760. Sons Ebenezer and Henry, executors. Proved June 25, 1764.—Left the Jacobs' homestead to his son Ebenezer. Children of John and Abigail: [4]Abigail, bap. Sept 1, 1706, at the First Church, Salem. Was living in 1760, the date of her father's will, m. a Felton; [4]John, bap. July 25, 1708, at the First Church, Salem. Lived in Sutton, Ms., and died previous to 1758, and left one son, [5]John, whose posterity are probably living in that vicinity; [4]Daniel, bap. Nov. 5, 1711, at the First Church, Salem. Lived in Danvers to an advanced age; [4]Ebenezer, bap. May 15, 1715, at the So. Church, Danvers, m. Elizabeth Cutler, dau. of Cornelius Cutler; [4]Desire, bap. May 15, 1715, at the So. Church, Danvers: d. previous to 1758; m. a Porter, and left children, mentioned in her father's will; [4]Sarah, bap. July 14, 1717, at the So. Church, Danvers; m. an Andrews, and was living in 1760, the date of her father's will; [4]Elizabeth, bap. Sept. 27, 1719, at the So. Church, Danvers; m. John Endicott, May 18, 1738; d. Aug. 1809, a. 90; children by Lydia, [4]Henry, bap. May 21, 1721; was living in 1766, per receipt for his portion left him by his father; no further memorial of him—probably the father of Henry Jacobs, killed at Lexington, April 19, 1775; [4]Lydia, bap. July 25, 1725; was living in 1760, the date of her father's will; m. John Small.

Fourth Generation.

[4]Daniel Jacobs bap. Nov. 5, 1711, at the 1st Church, Salem. Was a cordwainer by trade in early life; then a farmer. Lived in Danvers to an advanced age—residence on the Salem boundary line in North Fields. Married Sarah Dudley of Boston June 17, 1735. Died in the family of his son-in-law, Gen'l Gideon Foster, Oct 1809, in his 99th year. The following is an extract from an obituary notice of him: "Mr. Jacobs possessed great vigor in his old age. He was mowing in his field after he passed 90. He had an uncommon cheerfulness of temper, & a relish of life till its close. His sister who married into the family of Gov. Endicott, died lately, above 90 years of age." One of the descendants of Mr. Jacobs remembers distinctly seeing him saddle his horse and ride off like a young man, when he was upwards of 95 years of age. Children—[5]Daniel, b. Aug. 22, 1737. Was living in New Hampshire in 1761, where probably his posterity are at present residing; [5]Sarah & [5]Jonathan } gemini, b. Aug. 24, 1739; no memorial of him; [5]Benjamin, b. March 24, 1740-1, m. Sarah Moulton; [5]Abigail, b. April 15, 1743, m. Putnam Cleaves, and had 3 children, [6]Daniel, a Daughter [6]Sarah and [6]Abigail, who m. Amos King. Daniel removed to Saco, Me. and had children [7]Daniel, [7]Sarah, [7]Mary, [7]Almira; [5]Desire, b. Dec. 21, 1746, m. Zachariah King, ch [6]Zachariah, [6]Daniel, [6]Amos, [6]Desire, [6]Eben'r, [6]Jonathan, [6]Samuel, [6]Mary; [5]Lydia, b. Aug 24, 1743, m. John Tucker, ch. [5]John, [6]Andrew & [6]Betsey, gemini, [6]Jonathan, [6]Gideon, [6]Marcia, [6]Sam'l D, [6]Mary. [5]Marcia, b. Oct. 6, 1750, m. Gen'l Gideon Foster, ch.,

Mary Woodman Dec 10, 1741. Children. [5]Elias m. Mary Dorman of Wells, August 1768; [5]George m. Hepsibah Brown Feb 1779; [5]Deborah m. Jabez Dorman of Arundell, May 1780; [5]Jonathan m. 1st Sarah Tenney. Dec 26, 1782, m. 2d Rebecca S. Emery Feb. 1784; [5]Samuel m. Hannah Hubbard Dec. 13, 1785.

Fifth Generation.

[5]Elias Jacobs lived in Wells, Me., married Mary Dorman August 1768. Children, [6]Hannah m. James Maxwell; [6]Aaron m. Sarah Stover of York, Feb. 1804; [6]John m. Abigail Phillips of York May 1804; [6]Obediah m. Lucretia Littlefield Sept. 1813

[6]Gideon, [6]John, [6]Marcia, and another [6]daughter.

[4]Ebenezer Jacobs, bap. May 15, 1715, at the South Church, Danvers. Lived upon the old homestead, m. Elizabeth Cutler. Died in 1793. Will dated 13th Feb'y, 1790. Proved 13th Nov. 1793, son Eben'r and wife Elizabeth, Executors. Children—[5]Ebenezer, [5]Abigail, [5]Hannah, [5]Elizabeth; the last three died before their father, and are not mentioned in his will.

Fifth Generation.

[5]Benjamin Jacobs, b. March 4, 1740-1, m. Sarah Moulton about 1770. Lived in South Danvers. Children of Benjamin and Sarah—[6]Sally, b. 1771; [6]Lydia, b. 1773; [6]Benjamin, b. July 17, 1775; [6]Martha, b. 1779.

[5]Ebenezer Jacobs, uncertain when born. Lived in the old Jacobs homestead in Danvers, left him by his father, m. Eunice Tucker. Children. [6]Ebenezer, b. Feb'y 17, 1783, m. Phebe Martin, of Andover, and had 5 children. [7]John D, [7]Warren Martin, [7]Elizabeth Cutler, [7]Martha Frye D, [7]Martha Martin; [6]Jonathan, b. 1785, d. 1831, unmarried; [6]John, b. 1787, d. 1821. unmarried; [6]Aaron, b. 1790, never married; [6]William, b. Sept. 22, 1796, married and had 2 children; [6]Allen, b. Oct. 12, 1800, married and had 3 wives and several children.

Sixth Generation.

[6]Benjamin Jacobs, b. July 17, 1775. Lived in South Danvers. Was a Ship master, m. Sally Poor Jan'y 17, 1802. She died Feb'y 29, 1856. Children—[7]Sarah, b. Sept. 19. 1802, d. Oct. 9, 1802; [7]Nancy Poor, b. July 15, 1804, m. Franklin Osborn; [7]Benjamin, b. March 29, 1806, m. two sisters by the name of Buttrick; [7]Joseph, b Feb'y 10, 1808, m. Susan Wilson; [7]Sarah, b. Aug. 1, 1809, m. P L Winchester; [7]George, b. April 11, 1812, d. May 1857; [7]Richard, b. Aug. 14, 1813, m. Sarah Nourse; [7]Mary Abbott, b. May 10, 1815, m. R. Smith, d. March 1857; [7]Eliza Ann. b. July 28, 1817, m. E. F. Lamson; [7]Susan Poor, b. April 23, 1819, m. Francis Baker.

BRICK BUILDINGS IN SALEM.

From the Gazette of February 4th, 1806.

Mr. Cushing,—Perhaps the following list of brick buildings in Salem may come within the request of your correspondent "Caution," who has desired a communication of *any facts* connected with the subject, which he is discussing. I have made the list with care, and I believe it contains all our brick buildings. The dates placed against some of them are intended to show when they were built or finished. Some of your correspondents, I hope, will correct any errors they may discover in the list. It will be a curious fact in the history of *Salem*, (which was settled three years before *Boston*,) that at the beginning of the year 1806, there were but *fifty* buildings (out of about 2000, entirely of brick in the whole town.

		Houses.	Stores.	FACT. Built.
Ward No. 1.				
Essex Street,	E. S. Lang,		1	1803
"	Benj Dodge,	1		1805
"	Henry Rust,		1	
Wash'ton St.,	John Daland,		1	
Market St.,	Hathorne & Gray,		1	1805
Fish Street,	Samuel Gray,		1	
Charter St.,	Gilbert Chadwick,		1	1805
Vine Street,	Jona. Mason,	1		
"	Nathan Pierce,	1		1805
Water Street,	Smith & Douglass,		1	1804
Neptune St.,	Eliphalet Butman,		1	1802
Union Whf.,	Page & Ropes,		1	
Derby Street,	Henry Prince,	1		
"	Moses Townsend,	1		1805
Ward No. 2.				
Essex Street,	John Gardner,	1		1805
"	William Gray,	1		
"	Chase & Rust	1		1769
"	Jacob P. Rust	1		
Court Street,	William Stearns,		1	
Ward No. 3.				
Essex Street,	Henry Rust,	1		
"	John Hathorne,	1		
"	John Appleton,	1		1772
"	Abel Lawrence,	1		
"	Mrs. Haraden,	1		
Wash'ton St.,	Joseph Ropes,	1		1805
"	Joshua Ward,	1	1	
Summer St,	Joseph Baker,		1	
Chestnut St.,	Daniel Gregg,	1		1805
"	Jonathan Hodges,	1		1805
"	Thomas Saunders,	1		1805
Warren St.,	Chas. Cleveland,	1		1805
Ward No. 4.				
Essex Street,	Albert Gray,	1		
"	Daniel Saunders,	1		
"	Robert Peele,	1		
Federal St.,	Joseph Sprague,		1	

Court Street,	John Derby,	1	
"	Archelaus Rea,	1	
Boston Street,	Jonathan Dean,	1	
		26	13

Buildings of other descriptions.—Court House, in Court Street: Baptist Meeting House, Marlboro St.; Salem Bank, Essex St.; Sugar-House, Ash St.; R. Stone's Distillery, Neptune St.; John Norris's Distillery, Water St; Wm. Gray's Stable, St. Peter's St.; two workshops of one story, in Derby St.; Fort Pickering on Winter Island; Powder House, in the Great Pasture. Total, 11.

Buildings partly of brick.—Sun Tavern, Essex St.; Capt. Sage's House, Essex St.; Ebenezer Smith, Essex St.; John Watson, Union St.; John Rust's, County St.; Widow of Daniel Rust, County St.; Josiah Parsons, Water St.; James Pope's Marlborough St.; Rev. Mr. Spaulding's, Summer St; Wm. Fabens's, High St.; Stephen Phillips's, Chestnut St.: Richard Savary's, Briggs Court. Total, 12.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF REV. JOSEPH GREEN, REV. PETER CLARK, AND REV. BENJAMIN WADSWORTH, D. D., MINISTERS OF SALEM VILLAGE, (NOW DANVERS CENTRE.

BY SAMUEL P. FOWLER.

Read at a meeting of the Essex Institute, Thursday, March 11, 1858.

Before entering upon our subject, it will be necessary to notice the condition of the people at Salem Village, previous to the settlement of Rev. Joseph Green.

After the frenzy of 1692 had subsided, and a comparative calm had succeeded this violent storm, its inhabitants began more fully to realize the extent of their misfortunes. During the excitement in the summer of 1692, they were only intent upon endeavoring to save themselves and their friends from imprisonment and death. But when the witchcraft delusion had subsided, they felt most severely the confiscation of their property, the imposition of fines, and the suspension of agricultural labor, and the consequent loss of their crops. We have documentary evidence of a large amount of property being taken from those accused of witchcraft, and expenses incurred; for which they were but partially remunerated by the General Court. Their petitions for relief disclose their sad condition, and they appear to have been even more desirous that the attainders should be taken off, than to receive remuneration for their losses. The following is the petition of Elizabeth Corey, daughter of Giles Corey, for aid :—

"To the Honourable Commite, apointed by the General Courte to make Enquire with Respect to the Sufferings in the year 1692:— These are to give you a short account of our Sorrows and Sufferings, which was in the year 1692. Sometime in March, our honored father & mother, Giles Corey & Martha his wife, was accused for soposed witchcraft, and imprisoned & was Removed from one prison to another, as from Salem to Ipswich, & from Ipswich to Boston, and from Boston to Salem again, and so remained in close imprisonment about four months. We ware at the whole charge of their maintenance, which was very chargeable, and so much the more, being so farr a distance from us, also by reason of so many removes, in all which we could doe no less than accompanie them, which further added both to our trouble and charge, and although that was very great, it is the least of our grevence or cause of these lines. But that which breaks our hearts, and for which we goe a mourning still, is that our father was put to See Cruell and painfull a death as being prest to death; our mother was put to Death also, though in another way. As we cannot sufficiently express our Grief for the loss of our father & mother in such a way, So we cannot Compute our Expences and Cost; but shall Comit to your wisdome to judge of. But, after our father's death, the Sheriff threatened te seize our father's Estate, and for fear thereof wee Complied with him, and paid him Eleven pounds six shillings in monie, by all which we have been greatly damnified and impoverished, by being exposed to sell creatures and all other things for a little more than half the worth of them, to get the money to pay as aforesaid, and to maintain our father and mother in prison. But that which is

grievous to us is, that we are not only impoverished but also Reproached, and so may be to all generations, and that wrongfully tew, unless something be done for the removing thereof. All which we humbly Committ to the honourable Courte, Praying God to direct to that which may bee acceptable in his sight, and for the good of this land.

September ye 13th, 1710

We cannot Judge our necessary Expense to be less than Ten pounds. Wee subscribe your humble Servants in all Christian obediance.

Elizabeth Corey, daughter of Giles Corey, in behalf of the rest of the familie.

To the Honerd Commity apointed by the General Court to Inquire into the names proper to be inserted in the bill for takeing off the Attainder, and what damages They Sustained by their prosecutions:—These are to signify that I, Philip English, was Imprisoned together with my Whife, in Salem Prison, and then carried to Boston Prison, and there lay nine weeks; from whence we made our Escape, in which time, beside our Charge in flying, and had our Estate taken away from the Wharf House, at the point of Rocks, to the amount of £1183 2 shil. And is a true account of what I had seized. taken away, lost and embezled, whilst I was in prison. in ye year 1692. And whilst on my flight for my life, besides a considerable quantity of household goods and other things, which I cannot exactly give a particular account, and for all which I never Received any other or further satisfaction for them, than Sixty Pounds paid me by the Administrator of George Curwin, late Sheriffe, deceas'd, and the Estate was so seized and taken away Chiefly by the Sheriffe and his under officers, notwithstanding I had given four thousand Pound Bond with Surity at Boston. Philip English.

The Honorable Committee now sitting in Salem, Sept. 13th, 1710. Whereas, my mother, Ann Foster of Andover, Suffered Imprisonment 21 weeks, and upon her Tryall was condemned for supposed witchcraft, upon such evidence as now is Generally thought Insufficient, and died in Prison; I being well perswaded of my mother's Innocency of the crime for which she was condemned. I Humbly Desire that the Attainder may be taken off. The Charges and Expenses for my mother during her Imprisonment, is as follows:—

The money which I was forced to pay the Keeper before I could have the dead body of my mother, to bury her, was £2 10s; money & provisions expended while she was in Prison, £4; total expences, 6 pounds 10 Shillings.

Abram Foster. the son of the Deceased.

To the Honored Committee, appointed by ye Generall Court to Inquire into ye names of such as may be meet for takeing off ye Attainder, and for ye makeing some Restitution; and these Humbly and Sorrowfully Shew that our Dear and Honored father, Mr. George Burroughs, was aprehended in April, 1692, at Wells, and Imprisoned several months in Boston and Salem Jails, and at last condemned & executed for witchcraft, which we have all ye reason in ye world to believe he was innocent of. By his careful catechizing his children and upholding religion in his family, and by his solemn and Savory written Instructions from Prison. We were left a parsell of small children, helpless, and a mother-in-law with one small child of her own, whereby she was not capable to take care of us, by all which our father s Estate was most of it lost and expended. We cannot tell certainly what ye loss may be, but ye least we can Judge, by best information, it was fifty pounds, beside ye damage that has accrued to us many ways thereby is some hundred pounds We earnestly pray that ye attainder may be taken off, and if you please, fifty pounds may be restored.

Charles Burroughs, Elder son, in ye name of the rest.

To the Honored Generall Courte. now sitting in Boston this 12th of October, 1692 ; —

Right honored Gentlemen and Fathers.— We, your humble petitioners, whose names are underwritten. petition your honors as followeth :—We would not trouble you with a Tedious diversion, but briefly spread open our distressed conditi n, and beg your honors' favour and pity in affording what relief may be thought Convenient. As for The matter of our Troubles it is the distressed condition of our wives and Relations in prison at Salem, who are a company of poor. distressed creatures, as full of inward grief and Trouble as they are able to bear up in life with all. And besides the agrivation of outward Troubles and hardships they undergo, want of food, and the coldness of the winter season that is coming, may soon dispatch such out of the way, that have not been used to such hardships.— And besides this, the exceeding great Charges and expences that we are at, upon many accounts, which will be to Tedious to give a particular account of, which will fall heavy upon us, especially in a time of so great charge and expence upon a general account in the County, which is expected of us to bear a part as well as others ; which. if put all together, our families & estates will be brought to Ruin, if it cannot in time be prevented. Having spread open our condition, we humbly make our address to your Honours, to Grant that our wives and Relations, being such that have been approved as penitent confessors, might be returned home to us upon what bond your honors may see good, we do not petition to take them out of the hand of Justice, but to remove them as Prisoners under bonds in their own famllies when they may be more tenderly cared for, and be ready to appear to answer further when the Honored Court shall call for them. We humbly crave your honors favor and pitty for us and ours. Having set down our Troubled State before you we heartily pray for your Honors.

John Osgood in behalf of his wife.

John Fry in behalf of his wife.

John Marston, in behalf of his wife. Mary Marston.

Christopher Osgood, in behalf of his daughter, Mary Marston.

Joseph Wilson, in behalf of his wife.

John Bridges, in behalf of his wife and children.

Hope Tyler, in behalf of his wife and daughter.

Ebenezer Barker, for his wife.

Nathaniel Dane, for his wife.

To the Honored General Court sitting in Boston.

The humble Petition of Thomas Heart, Inhabitant at Lynn, sheweth that whereas Elizabeth Hart, mother to the Petitioner, was taken into Custody in the latter end of May last, and ever since committed to prison in Boston Jail, for Witchcraft, though in all which time nothing has appeared against her whereby to render her deserving of Imprisonment or death. The petitioner being obliged by all Christian duty as becomes a child to parents to make application for the Inlargement of his said mother, being ancient and not able to undergo the hardships that is Inflicted from lying in misery, and death is rather to be chosen than life in her circumstances. The father of the petitioner being ancient and decripit, was wholly unable to attend in this matter, and petitioner having lived from his childhood under the same roof with his said mother he dare presume to affirm that he never saw, nor knew, any ill or sinful practice wherein there was any shew of Impiety, nor witchcraft by her, and were it otherwise he would not for the world, and all the Enjoyments thereof, Nurish or support any creature that ye knew engaged in the Drugery of Satan. It is well known to all the neighbours that the petitioners mother has Lived a sober and Godly life always ready to discharge the part of a good Christian, and never deserving of affliction's from ye hand's of men for any thing of this nature. May it

humbly therefore please your Honored Court to take this matter into your Consideration, in order to the Speedy Inlargement of this person, So much abused, and the petioner as in Duty bound shall Ever pray.

Thomas Hart.

Dated the 19th of Oct. 1692.

To the Honourable General Court now sitting in Boston.

The Humble Petition of Nicholas Rist of Reading—Showeth, that whereas Sara Rist wife to the petitioner, was taken into Custody the first day of June last, and ever since lain in Boston Jail, for witchcraft, though in all this time nothing has been made to appear for which she deserved Imprisonment or death, the petitioner has been a husband to the said woman above twenty years, in all which time he never had reason to accuse her for any Imposture or Witchcraft, but the contrary—She lived with him as a good faithful, dutiful wife and always had respect to the ordinances of God, while her strength remained, and the petitioner on that consideration is obliged in conscience and Justice, to use all lawfull means for the support and preservation of her life ; and it is deplorable that in old age, the poor decreped woman should be under confinement so long in a stinking Jail, when her circumstances rather requires a nurse to attend her. May it therefore please your honors, to take this matter into your prudent consideration, and direct some speedy methods whereby this ancient decrepid person may not forever be in such misery, wherein her life is made more afflictive to her than death, and the petitioner shall, as in duty bound, Ever pray.

Nicholas Rist.

To the Honourable Committee, sitting in Salem, Sept. 13th. 1710.

An account of what was seized and taken away, by the Sheriff. or his deputy, and assistants, out of the Estate of Samuel Wardwell, late of Andover, Deceased, who suffered the pain of Death, under condemnation on the sorrowfull tryals for witchcraft, in the year 1692. Seized and taken away :—

	£	Shil.	d.
5 Cows. at 2 pounds apiece, -	10	0	0
1 Heifer and a Yearling, - -	2	5	9
1 Horse, - - - - -	3	0	0
9 Hogs, - - - - - -	7	0	0
8 Loads Hay, - - - - -	4	0	0
A set of Carpenter's Tools, - -	1	10	0
6 acres of Corn upon the ground,	9	0	0
	£ 36	15	0

Abigail Faulkner, of Andover, who received a pardon from Governor Phipps, in her petition, says: "The pardon so far had its effect as that I am as yet suffered to live, but this only as a malefactor, convicted upon record of ye most heinous crimes, that mankind can be supposed to be guilty, which, besides its utter Ruining and Defaming my Reputation, will certainly Expose myself to Imminent Danger by new accusations, which will thereby be ye more readily believed, will remain a perpetual brand of Infamy upon my family. Do humbly pray that this High & honourable Court will please to take my case into Serious Consideration, and order the Defacing of ye record against me, so that I may be freed from ye evil consequences Thereof." Others petitioned that something might be done, to take off the infamy from the names and memory of those, who have suffered from witchcraft, and that none of their surviving relatives, nor their posterity might suffer reproach upon that account. But how little do we know of the estimation posterity will form of our actions.—The ignominy they so much dreaded, has long since passed from them, without the much sought intervention of the General Court, and fastened itself upon their accusers, and the originators of this strange delusion.

The people of Salem Village, after the sad occurrences of 1692, which left them in a broken and distracted state, were fortunate in their choice of a pastor, Rev, Joseph Green, who was eminently qualified to heal all past difficulties, and restore order & harmony. Mr. Green was

ordained over the Church at the Village, Nov. 10th, 1698. The churches represented upon the occasion, were from Beverly, Wenham, Reading & Roxbury. His salary was eighty pounds & thirty cords of wood It appears from the church records, that he took an early opportunity to induce its members to admit to their communion the three dissenting brethren, John Tarbell, Thomas Wilkins & Samuel Nourse, and their wives, who were leaders in the opposition against Rev. Samuel Parris, in 1692. After several attempts, Mr. Green succeeded in persuading his church to revoke the sentence of excommunication against Martha Corey, who was executed for witchcraft.— And it was during his ministry, that Ann Putnam was admitted to full communion with the church, upon her humble confession.

Ann apologises for her conduct, by disclaiming the indulgence of anger, malice, or ill will against those she accused, and says she was deluded by Satan, in her false accusations.— And it is a singular fact, worth remembering, as an exhibition of human nature, that all those, who were in any way connected with witchcraft at Salem Village, after the excitement had subsided, excused themselves for their participation in its follies, by casting the whole blame upon the devil, and asserting they were wholly unable to withstand his delusions.

Mr. Green was called from his labors at Salem Village, by death, Nov. 26, 1715, in the fortieth year of his age. He graduated at Cambridge College, in 1695, & married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Gerrish, of Wenham. He baptised during his ministry of 18 years, 106 adults, and 528 children. During his residence at the Village, the half way covenant was introduced. Mr. Green was an eminent peace maker, and labored to remove the many difficulties in his church, which arose in Mr. Parris's ministry, and happily succeeded. He appears to have been highly esteemed by all who knew him, and his removal by death was sincerely lamented. He was buried in the Wadsworth burial ground, in Danvers, where a slab of black slate was erected at the head of his grave, now in a good state of preservation, with the following inscription :—

Sub Hoc Cæspe,
Requiescunt, in spe Beatæ Resurectionis,
Reliquiæ Reverendi D. Joseph Green, A. M.,
Hujusce Ecclesiæ Per XVIII Annorum Fere Spatium,
Pastoris Vigilantissimi,
Viri Sempiterna memoria Tenendi,
Tum Gravitate Doctrinæ Tum Suavitate morum,
Qui Decessit ex hic ærumnosa vita sexto
Calendas Decembres Anno Domini MDCCXV,
Impleverat jam annum quadragessimum.*

The following notice of his death is to be seen in the church records, in the hand writing of Dea. Edward Putnam :—"Then was the choicest flower and goodliest tree in the garden of our God, here cut down in its prime and flourishing state, at the age of 40 years and 21 days; who had been a faithful embassador from God to us, 18 years. Then did that bright star set, and never more to appear here among us, then did our sun go down, and now what darkness is come among us. Put away and pardon all our iniquities, oh! Lord, which has been the cause of thy sore displeasure, and again return to us in mercy, and provide yet again for this thy flock, a Pastor after thine own heart, as thou hast promised in thy word, in which promise we here hope, for we are called by thy name, oh, Leave us not."

A meeting of the Village Church, was held at the house of Dea. Putnam, the 19th of April,

*TRANSLATION.

Under this sod,
Lie in hope of a happy resurrection,
The remains of the Reverend deceased Joseph Green, A M.,
Of this church for nearly the period of eighteen years,
A most vigilant Pastor,
A man to be held in perpetual remembrance,
Both for seriousness of discourse and agreeableness of manners,
Who departed from a laborious life in this place on the 6th day
Of the calends of December in the year of the Lord, 1715,
He had just completed his fortieth year

1717, for the purpose of looking to God for direction in settling a minster. The church voted, that Capt. Putnam, Deacon Putnam, and Mr. Cheever, be a Committee to present their desires to the Rev. Mr. Peter Clark, and request him to settle with them in the ministry, and make a report to the church in due time. Mr. Clark made answer to the call of the church as follows :—

April 23d, 1717.

To the church of Christ, at Salem Village.

My answer to your request, brethren and friends, duly respected in the Lord, I thankfully received this testimony of your love, and respect towards me; in calling me, tho' little worthy in my self, to the office of a Pastor, among you, wherefore I do hereby testify my acceptance, and shall according to the grace and ability given me of God. be willing to serve you in the office and work of the gospel ministry, as God shall continue my opportunity and call, hereunto desiring your prayers to God for me. Peter Clark.

Mr. Clark was ordained June 5th, 1717.— The churches present at the ordination, were from Beverly, Wenham, Reading & Topsfield. He was to receive 90 pounds as his settlement, a salary of 90 pounds per annum, and the parsonage. Mr. Clark thus notices the great earthquake in his church records, Nov. 29th, 1727. "Being Lords day, at night, between 10 & 11 o'clock, there happened a very great earthquake, accompanied with a terrible noise and shaking, which was greatly surprising to ye whole land, ye rumbling in ye bowels of the earth, with some lesser trepidation of the earth, has been repeated at certain times, for divers weeks after." On the 26th of Nov. 1729, 24 members of the village church were dismissed to help form the church in Middleton, gathered under the ministry of their first Pastor, Rev. Andrew Peters. A little more than half a century had now elapsed, since the fatal delusion of witchcraft had broken out at Salem Village, and it is probable there were some aged members of the church, who remembered that sad event, and had ever been vigilant and careful to repress any approach towards divination, or the supposed practices of witches. Mr. Clark may have entertained the notion held by Dr. William Douglas, the author of the "Historical Summary," that witchcraft, enthusiasm and other maniac disorders, was endemial in Salem and its neighborhood and being like its weeds, indigenous to its soil, required a Pastor's watch and care to notice their first appearance and root them out. But we have no evidence that such was his belief; he properly entertained a conviction, that divination, invoking the dead or spiritualism, witchcraft and diaholism, and their kindred arts should not be practised in a Christian Church. There being reports that reputed witches were in the village, and were practising their arts by divination &c., and that members of the parish were consulting them, Mr. Clark immediately called together the church on the 5th of Sept. 1746, to make enquiry into the matter, and the following votes were passed at the meeting. 1st That for christians, especially church members, to seek to and consult reputed witches, or fortune tellers, this church is clearly of the opinion and firmly believes, on ye testimony of ye word of God, is highly injurious and scandalous, being a violation of the christian covenant involved in baptism, rendering ye persons guilty of it, subject to ye just censure of ye church No proof appearing against any member of ye church (some of whom had been strongly suspected of this crime) so as to convict them of their being guilty, it was further voted, 2nd, That ye pastor in ye name of ye church, should publicly testify their disapprobation and abhorrence of this infamous and ungodly practice of consulting witches or fortune letters, or any that are reputed such, exhorting all under their watch, who may be guilty of it, to an hearty repentance and returning to God, fervently seeking forgiveness in ye blood of Christ, and warning all against ye like practice for ye time to come.

The next Sabbath, Sept. 7th, this testimony, exhortation and warning was publicly read to the congregation from the pulpit by the pastor. These old women, who so troubled Mr. Clark in 1746 were the last witches (we mean diabolical ones) seen at Salem Village. Young and elderly ladies still continue however to meet there, as in olden time, in circles and classes, and it is supposed they have not lost any of their bewitching arts, but fortunately they are not exercised in the same way as in 1692. The last record made by Mr. Clark in the church book was Nov. 8th, 1767, at which time his health failed, and he was compelled to forego the labors of the pulpit. He continued to decline during the early part of the season of 1768, frequently attempting to preach, and often failing. The last time he appeared before his people, he faltered in the service, and leaned against the pulpit, which one of his deacons noticing, he went to his assistance, and led him home. His death occurred soon after June 10th, 1768, and is thus noticed by Dea. Asa Putnam in the records, "Now it has pleased God in his holy Providence, to take away from us our dear and Rev. Pastor by death, Mr. Peter Clark, who departed this life, June ye 10th, 1768, in ye 76 year of his age, and on ye 15th day was his funeral. It was attended with great solemnity; his corpse was carried into the meeting-house, and prayer was made by ye Rev. Mr. Diman of Salem. A sermon was delivered by Rev. Mr Barnard of Salem, from Gal. 3 chap 11 verse. It was then removed to the grave, with the church walking before the corpse assisted by twelve bearers, with a great concourse of people following. After his interment we left his deceased body in ye dust, for worms to feed upon, which we took so much delight and satisfaction in. He is gone, who has been so faithful in ye ministry among this people, the number of fifty one years—Now he is gone, never to see his face no more in this world, no more to hear the precious instructions, and examples out of his mouth in public, or in private. That ye God of all grace would be pleased to sanctify this great bereavement to this church and congregation for good, and in his own due time give us another Pastor after his own heart, to feed this people with truth, knowledge and understanding that this church may not be left like sheep without a shepherd. But of these things he will be enquired of, O house of Israel to do it for them."

Mr. Clark, during his ministry of 51 years, baptised 46 aduits, 1,226 children and admitted 309 persons into his church. He was buried in the Wadsworth burying ground in Danvers, with the following inscription upon his grave stone:

"Here lies Intombed the remains of the Rev. Mr. Peter Clark, for about 51 years the painful, laborious, and faithful pastor of the first Church in this town. He was a great Divine; an accomplished Christian, in whose character ye most exemplary patience, humility and meekness, were illustriously displayed. He was born March 12th, 1693, Graduated at Harvard College in Cambridge 1712, ordained pastor of ye church in this town, June 5th, 1717. He lived much esteemed and respected, and after a long life spent in ye service of religion, He died much lamented June 10th, 1768, Ætatis 76.

Wrapt in his arms, who bled on Calvary's plain,
We murmur not Blest shade, nor dare complaine;
Fled to those seats where perfect Spirits Shine,
We mourn our lot, yet still rejoice in thine;
Taught by thy tongue, By thy example led,
We Blessed thee living, and revere thee Dead.
Sleep here thy Dust, till the Last Trump shall Sound,
Then shalt thou rise, and be with perfect Glory
Crown'd."

Mr. Barnard, in his funeral sermon, observes that Mr. Clark was well acquainted with ancient & modern learning, his style pure, nervous & clear, cool or pathetic, as his subject required; and by means of his conversing much with the best modern authors, more elegant & pleasing to the politer world than most of his equals in age. His printed works are somewhat numerous upon many public occa-

sions, he being the most voluminous writer that ever lived in Danvers. Mr. Clark preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1736, Convention Sermon in 1745, Dudleian Sermon in 1763, & the Election Sermon in 1739. I have in my possession two sermons preached by him, the first to a society of young men in the North Parish in Danvers, Dec. 15th 1757; the second, a sermon from Psal. 119, 109th verse, containing "A word in Season to Soldiers, preached April 6th, 1755 being Lord's Day before muster of a number of Soldiers in the North Parish in Danvers, who had enlisted in the public service of the King and Country, in the intended Eastern expedition." Most of the recruits put up notes on the occasion, requesting prayers of the congregation. Some of them requested that "God would preserve them, especially from sin, and some of them added, the "worst of evils." Mr. Clark was fond of controversy, and wrote several books in defence of original sin, and in favor of infant baptism. After his death, the people in the North Parish in Danvers, invited Mr. Amos Sawyer to settle with them in the ministry, who accepted the invitation, but died before the time appointed for his ordination. An invitation was then extended to Mr. Joseph Currier to become their Pastor, but in consequence of some difficulties arising in the Parish, he gave his answer in the negative. On the 30th of August, 1772, the church voted to give the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth a call, who returned the following answer:

To the North church & congregation in Danvers. Dearlybeloved in Christ:—

Whereas, the great Governor of the Universe has, in his wise Providence, (some time since.) removed your former Reverend, worthy and very laborious pastor, into the land of silence; and your desire for the resettlement of the Gospel ministry has evidenced itself in your invitation of me (unworthy as I am,) to that important work; tho' it must be confessed the voice of all the people did not unite in the call, yet as the answer has been deferred for a considerable time, the practical language of your offering no objection to me, I can't but suppose speaks your general concurrence. After mature deliberation, and many anxious thoughts upon a matter of so great consequence, both to yourselves and me, having been importunate with God for direction, and sought the advice of men. I have concluded to accept of your invitation upon the terms proposed, humbly confiding in the great head of the church for assistance faithfully to discharge the duty incumbent upon a minister of the Gospel, and in your goodness for a comfortable subsistence, if what you have already proposed for that end should prove insufficient. And ask your earnest prayers for me, that a divine blessing may attend all my ministerial labors, and that I may obtain grace to be faithful, and mercy to be successful, heartily wishing that grace, mercy and peace may be the stability of our times. Thus I subscribe myself your affectionate friend & servant in the Lord. Benjamin Wadsworth.

Milton, Nov. 5th, 1772.

Mr. Wadsworth was ordained Dec. 23, 1772, and the following persons were present: Dr. Appleton from Cambridge, Mr. Robbins from Milton, Mr. Morrell from Wilmington, Mr. Dunbar from Stoughton, Mr. Williams from Weymouth, Mr. Diman from Salem, Mr Holt from South Danvers. Mr. Smith from Middleton, Mr. Stone from Reading, Mr. Swain from Wenham, and Mr. Sherman from Woburn. The records of the church inform us "that Mr. Holt opened the solemnities by prayer; Mr. Robbins preached from Eph. 2d 17th. Mr. Morrill prayed and gave the charge, and Mr. Smith gave the right hand of fellowship. All the services was carried on with order and decency. May heaven smile upon the services of the day." I have been informed by aged people, who were present at the ordination, that the day was so mild and pleasant, the windows of the church were raised. It was a scene of great festivity throughout the parish; all the houses were open, and these failing to accommodate the concourse of people, tents were erected in the

fields opposite the meeting house for their use. Mr. Wadsworth, at the time of his ordination, was 22 years of age. The nnmber of male members belonging to the church at the commencement of his ministry, was 45; females, 91. Nov. 3d, 1775 —The church voted to sing out of Dr. Watts's hymns on trial for 8 weeks. On Monday, Sept. 23d, 1805, the society met with a severe loss, their meeting-house being destroyed by fire. It was discovered about 4 o'clock in the morning, & was supposed to be the work of an incendiary.— The following Sabbath the society worshipped in the school house in District No 5, where a sermon was preached by Mr. Wadsworth, from Isaiah, 64th chap. 11th verse. Dec. 26th was observed by the society as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, on account of the loss of their meeting house. The church met to consult on measures for supplying the sacramental table with suitable furniture.— The set of table service in the house at the time of the fire, consisted of two flagons & two tankards of pewter, and eight silver cups, valued about 30 dollars each. They were presented to the church by different individuals, and as the silver was not found after the fire, it was supposed they were taken by a sacrilegious hand.

The Parish held a meeting Oct. 4th, for the purpose of seeing what action they would take in regard to building a new meeting house.— They voted unanimously to rebuild, and on the 2d of November contracted with Col. Ebenezer Goodale to build a brick house for the sum of $10,000, to be completed by the 1st of Sept., 1806. On the 21st day of May, 1806, the building was commenced. On Thursday, the 20th of November following, on a fine, pleasant day, the new brick meeting house was dedicated. Public worship was first held in the house Nov. 23, 1806, and on Monday, the 8th of December following, the pews were sold. Mr. Wadsworth was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1816. July 18th, 1819, the scriptures were first read in public.

The last record in the church book made by Dr. Wadsworth, was July 18th, 1824. His sickness and death are thus recorded by Eleazer Putnam, Esq :—

"Rev. Dr. Wadsworth deceased the 18th of January, A. D., 1826, after a severe illness of ten months. He retained his reason to the last moments of his life. He has enjoyed a long and peaceful ministry among us. His funeral was attended the 23d inst., by a large concourse of people, and the services were solemn and appropriate. Rev. Mr. Green addressed the throne of Grace, Rev. Mr. Dana preached the sermon, and the Rev Dr. Woods made the last prayer. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." He lies buried in the Wadsworth burial ground in Danvers, and the following inscription may be seen over his remains: Consecrated to the memory of Benjamin Wadsworth, D. D., a tender, faithful husband and father, a valuable friend and judicious counsellor, an exemplary christian, and distinguished public servant of the Prince of Peace, who entered into his rest Jan. 18th, A. D, 1826, in the 76th year of his age, and 54th of his ministry in this place.

" Tis great to pause and think on what a brighter world than this his spirit shines. "

Near his grave lies buried his colored servant, who lived many years in his family.— Dr. Wadsworth erected over her remains a stone, on which is to be seen the following inscription: In memory of Phebe Lewis, who died Jan. 10th, 1823, aged 49 years. She shone a bright example of integrity and fidelity, and proved an ornament to the christian profession.

Benj. Wadsworth was born in Milton, Mass, July 18, 1750, and graduated at Harvard College in 1769. The year succeeding his graduation, he was engaged in teaching a school; after which he resided at Cambridge, and pursued the study of Theology, under the direction of Professor Wigglesworth, and in the spring of 1772, was licensed to preach. On the 23d of December following, he accepted

the pastoral charge of the First Church in Danvers. Enjoying vigorous health, he continued to labor without interruption, until the last year of his life. He was never detained from his pulpit, during his ministry more than four or five sabbaths. The whole number of persons admitted into the church during Dr. Wadsworth s pastorate of 54 years, were 260. He baptized 810 children, and 86 adults. At the period of his death, there was not a male member of his church living, that belonged to it when he was ordained, and only two females. The following is a list of his publications :—

A Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Josiah Badcock, at Andover, N. H , April 30th, 1782, A Thanksgiving Sermon in 1795. A Thanksgiving Sermon in 1796. Eulogy on Washington in 1800. A Sermon at the dedication of the Brick Meeting House, Nov. 20th, 1806.— A Sermon before the Bible Society, of Salem, and its vicinity, in 1815. An Address before the Moral Society, in Danvers, for the suppression of Intemperance, in 1815. A Sermon at the installation of Rev. Moses Dow, in 1815. A Sermon at the Brick Meeting House, Nov. 7th, 1816, before the Female Cent Society, in Danvers and Middleton. A Sermon at the interment of the Hon. Samuel Holten, in 1816. A Discourse on the death of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, July 28, 1823. A Sermon preached upon the death of Benjamin Hezekiah Flint, and Bethiah Sheldon, Nov. 19th, 1820.

Dr. Wadsworth was not, like his predecessor, the Rev. Peter Clark, fond of controversial writing, but on the contrary sought and obtained a peaceful ministry, undisturbed by the changes taking place around him. Mr. Clark, as a controversialist always had his lance in its rest, and was ever ready to shiver it with any one, who chose to encounter him. The salary of Doct. Wadsworth was small, never exceeding $400 per annum, and would have given him a meagre support, had it not been for his frugal habits, and the income from property acquired by marriage. He appears to have fully understood that his salary was not what it should have been, as in signing his receipts for money received from the parish treasurer, he sometimes added, "a very inadequate support." As several of his parishoners were sea-faring men, he was in the habit of making adventures at sea, and not being charged for freight or commission it was a small source of income to him. Our recollection of him is that of a gentleman of the old school, dressed in black velvet small clothes, with silk stockings, and white topped boots.— He wore bands in the pulpit, and black silk gloves, with the ends of the thumb and fore finger cut off, the better to enable him to turn over the leaves of his sermon. He was in the habit of bowing to the old men, and his most distinguished parishoners, as he passed up the broad aisle, first on the one side and then on the other. Although in the pulpit, the tone of his voice was low and monotonous, and he was closely confined to his notes, yet he possessed by nature, superior powers of mind.— His written productions always evinced a sound and discriminating judgment, a vivid imagination, and a correct and refined taste. He never presented religion in a harsh or unpleasant manner; but by letting its native attractions, shine through the medium of a rich and elevated style, he sought to inspire every heart with love to its author. He had a deep solicitude for the welfare of the rising generation, and would often call together the children and youth in his parish, and with the most affectionate tenderness intreat them to remember their Creator, in the morning of life. His private character was distinguished by a combination of various excellences. His equanimity of temper was remarkable. Temperance and prudence combined, with the most refined affability and benevolence, rendered him an example of personal and social excellence. The calm serenity of mind, which he manifested, under every dispensation of Providence, was not the result of insensibility ; for

he had a heart feelingly alive to all the tender sympathies of our nature.

Dr Milton P. Braman, the successor of Dr. Wadsworth, in the ministry of the first parish in Danvers, was ordained April 12, 1826.

The pastorates of the three last ministers of this ancient church, embraces a period of 138 years, and is probably without a parallel in New England.

OLD SCRAPS.

GENERAL COURT IN SALEM IN 1774.

Messrs. Editors.—I send you a copy of a document in my possession, which may be read with some interest. This paper is in the handwriting of Col Timo. Pickering. B.

"Expences of fitting the Town House in Salem, to accommodate the House of Representatives, June, 1774:—

	£	s	d
Benja. Pickman, Esq., for boards, -	2	14	9
Josiah Gould, for Carpenter's work, -	1	5	4
Benj. Ward 3d. ditto & Joists,	1	9	1
James Andrew, Carpenter's Work, -	1	5	4
Thos. Brown, ditto - - -	1	8	0
Willm. Pickman's acct. for Nails - -	1	0	3
James Gould, for Carpenter's Work, -	1	13	10
	10	16	7

To the honorable House of Representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay:

May it please your Honours.—We received a letter from the Secretary, acquainting us that his Excellency the Governor had directed him to desire us to make provision for the accommodation of the two Houses; in consequence of which we ordered seats to be made in the Town House, where your Honours now sit; and the foregoing account shows the expences incurred thereby. Many other expences for cleansing and repairing, we have omitted; and nothing is included in the foregoing account but the charges necessarily occasioned in erecting those seats.

We pray your Honours' allowance of that account, and an order on the Treasurer for the amount thereof.

Timo. Pickering, Jun.,
Wm. Pickman,
Willm. Northey,
Rich'd Ward.
} Selectmen of Salem.

SAM'L BROWNE—MERCHANT IN SALEM—HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPT. JOHN TOUZELL—VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES.

SALEM, NEW ENGLAND, Decem'r 19, 1727.

Mr. John Touzell —"You are hereby appointed Master of my Sloop Endeavour, and being Loaden & supplyed with what is needful for your voyage, you are therefore to take ye first good opportunity of wind & weather, & come to Sail with said vessell, directing your course and making the best of your way for the West Indies; and you may Touch at Barbados, St. Christopher's, or Antegoa or Jamaica, and if any good marketts att any of those Places, then you may dispose of my Cargoe I consign you by Bill of Loading & Invoice herewith given you, to my best advantage, & Purchase a Loading of good Mollasses, Some Rum, good Cotton wool, good Cocoa Nutts & good Indigo. and any other thing you may bring here with Safety, that will turn to advantage, or, if the markets are Low at ye English Islands, then you may goe & Trade at Guardelupe, Cape Francois, or any of the french Islands, where you Can gett Permition to Trade, & with Safety, and bring my Effects as aforesaid. If you should Trade at Martinico, Gett of Mr. Barbolton the Effects of my Sloop's Cargo Left in his hands, of the Last Voyage in good Mollasses. Imploy your Coopers Diligently in making Cask for your Mollasses which you purchase for me, make what Dispatch you Can back to New England to me. Leave no debts on my account, If possible to avoid itt, Butt Bring the whole Proceeds of my Cargoe in Such goods as I have mentioned. be Careful to pay your Port Charges, and not to bring anything Home to endang r a Seizure of my Vessell. Take Care that yourself, Mate & Seamen Pay their Proportion of the charge of Permition To Trade at the French Islands, if you Should go & Trade there; or it is Butt Reasonable that they Should Pay their Part who Reap Equall advantage with me according to their Parts, and Suffer nothing to be brought in the Vessell more than their Privileidge, without Paying freight. Consult my Interest, & make Dispatch in my Buissiness, & use the greatest Prudence, Diligence & good Husbandry you Can in all my affairs, and Endeavour to make me a good Voyage, advise me of your Proceedings pr Every opportunity. So wishing you a Prosperous voyage, Comitt you to the Protection of Almighty God, I am Yr Freind & Imployer,

Sam'll Browne.

Bring Some Oranges & Limes.

NOTICE TO PROPRIETORS OF BEVERLY BRIDGE IN 1788.

"To———.You, being one of the Proprietors of

Essex Bridge, and owning four shares, are hereby notified that a meeting of the Directors of said Bridge, held at Leech's tavern in Beverly, on Saturday the seventh day of June instant, they assessed on each share the sum of twenty dollars: and that the sum due from you is eighty dollars; which sum must be paid in fifteen days after this notice, otherwise your said shares will be sold at publick vendue, agreeably to the rules and regulations of the said Proprietors. Dated at Beverly this ninth day of June, 1788. Your humble Servant,

Wm. Prescott, Propr.'s Clerk.

N. B. Payments must be made in Gold and Silver pr order of Directors."

The above notice is filled out and signed by Judge Prescott, Father of the Historian.

Richard Weight, Aged about 55 years, being sworne, saith:

That he being preasent, standing with Mr. Richard Margerum, neare to the Castle Tavern, he heard the said Margerum say that Mr. Browne kept a false booke and he would prove it soe.

John Bushnell, Aged about 40 years, saith:

That he was standing by at the same time and heard Mr. Margerum speak the same words above mentioned and ffurther these Deponents saith not.—These words were spoken in the open Streett.

Sworne before me the 20th of the 4th month 1655.

Jo'. Endecott, Gou'r.

Salem, March the 13th, 1743.

Then Rec'd of Phillip English, Ten pounds In Bills of Crt., of the ould Tennor, In part of his Subcrition for the North River Bridge.

£10 0s 0d. pr Sam'll West.

SOME REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM FROM 1626 TO 1740—WITH A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH—A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

The Trade or Commerce of Salem most probably dates back to, or even prior to the settlement of the Place. Adventurers to this Western Coast after fish and furs, may have traded with the Naumkeags, ere Conant and his associates settled here. From what remains of *Gosnold's* Observations in New England, the Indians by Cape Cod were not unacquainted with trade, and this is in 1602—twenty-four years before Salem is visited by Conant! It would seem as if *Conant and the planters might have been engaged in trade with the natives or others, because the planting of tobacco by these old settlers gave great offence to the second comers (the Puritans of 1628), the latter maintaining according to the orders of the Home Company that its culture was immoral, unless for medicinal purposes. Now, the cultivation must have been greater, of course, than was considered necessary for medicine, and the surplus was for trade. Such, at least, is a fair inference.

The second comers, (the Puritans of 1628-30) were not at first very zealous for trade.—The old planters, being of the moderate Episcopalian stamp, and of the Cape Ann settlement, were most probably in favor of it; but they possessed but little power, being soon swallowed up in the Puritan emigration. The †Puritans (second comers) though regarded by

*To judge from the testimony of *Brackenbury*, *Dixey*, and *Woodbery* (Salem Records, Registry of Deeds, vol. 5, pages 105 to 7) the early Planters were on the best terms with the native Indians in Salem, and thus had the opportunity of trading with them; and the Cape Ann Settlement had *boats*, which were doubtless used for fishing, and very probably trading, along the coast. As that settlement was originally intended as a planting, trading and fishing one, it is most likely that fish and furs were both sought from Salem, as from the vicinity—the search for both these articles being then common to adventurers to this Western Coast.

†The early settlers of Salem (1628–30) seem to come hither as *non-conformists*, or at least with that reputation. They soon however became congregational *separatists*, as were the Plymouth Colonists before them. The term *Puritan* seems in that day to have been applied more particularly to those who sought to purify the national church. The Plymouth Colonists however even before their departure from Europe were called *Brownists*, that is separatists from the national church—and though denying that particular name, were in fact Congregationalists.

the Home Company probably as in sympathy with the first settlers of Salem in their religious views, seem either to have sympathized practically with the Plymouth settlers ere they (the Puritans) came to Salem, or else changed their views very shortly after arrival. Some of them were evidently non-conformists at first. At all events their religious views assumed in Massachusetts a direct hostility to Episcopacy, and modified all their civil views. Once here, and independence both of the Church and State of England commences. Indeed, the Puritans cut adrift from about all authority, except the Bible, and the causes for it are partly to be found in their spiritual proclivities, and partly in the condition in which they found themselves on arrival. The Home Company, indeed, had given them instructions how to act, and expected a compliance therewith, but some of these instructions perhaps could not well be heeded, and some others were disregarded.—The Home Company were expecting prompt commercial returns and the Colonists were struggling for existence. The sudden liberty, too, which here greeted the Puritan, helped to break his ties to the Old Country. He should here realize, he thought, his enthusiastic dream —religious independence—and he allowed nothing to interfere with it. Trade was considered as of trifling consequence in the comparison.—So dominant was this faith and view, that it led the Puritans to do things which seriously embarrassed their allies in the Home Company, more particularly after the transfer of the Patent and Government here in 1630. It is much to be doubted moreover, whether the substantial Home *helpers of our Mass. Colony ever were repaid the debts incurred in their efforts to colonize. The contrary seems to have been the case, while the expulsion of the Browns—the punishment of Ratcliff—the sectarian law of †Freemanship, and the reported Judaistic tendency of some of the colonial legislation—all these reacted to the prejudice of the Home Company—paralzed them in fact—strengthened the enemies of the Puritans in England—came near costing them their charter in 1638, and finally, recoiled upon themselves, perhaps, under the arbitrary James. The existence of

The latter had been watched very narrowly by the Ecclesiastical tyranny at home, which suspected them from the first of separating entirely from the Church of England. This they had done, it appears, even before they left *England* for Europe. The Plymouth Church (congregational) must be regarded therefore as the Parent Church of Massachusetts —the seed of our Congregational system.

*Cradock, the first home Governor of the Company, and who was a very just, liberal and noble man—with strong attachments to the church and State of England —which the Colonists evidently did not share with him—left a claim upon the Colony, which amounted in 1648 (so Felt says) to nearly £700. It is not probable that any of this was ever repaid.

†There can be but little doubt, that the Puritans acted from policy in their early measures for the exclusion of all but Congregationalists from power and influence in the Colony, the fear that the Episcopal tyranny at home would get a foot-hold among them to their destruction, if not utterly banished in any and every suspected shape. The miserable intrigues of Oldham and his confederates (Conformists) at Plymouth—which were evidently intended for the destruction of that Colony—very probably operated against the Browns in Salem—who, however, seem to have been honorable upright men, and who, as non-conformists, (as they most probably were) could not have been in good odor in England. The difficulty seems to have been, that the moderate Episcopalians in the Colony—those who were persecuted at home for non conformity—had to suffer here for the sins of the High Churchmen of Old England or New. The fear of the Puritans was natural perhaps, but, we cannot but think, exaggerated. The enemies they stirred up in the Old Country by this course, with the addition of the opposition of those thus treated by them, gave them more trouble in the end, than could the toleration of a few mere non-conformists among themselves. Toleration seems to have been with them rather a theory than a practice—as is indeed generally the case among men. Yet the Puritans behaved with very commendable justice to the Indians in the extinguishment of their land titles. In the one case they were politic—in the other just. A too faithful adherence to the Old Testament, and a too literal interpretation of it, led them into unreasonable peculiarities at times.

our Massachusetts colony for a series of years, seems to be a History of Escapes, and very narrow ones too, at times. The Puritans often escaped even the consequences of their own want of liberality, or wisdom, by some fortunate civil commotion in England, or some combination of events no human foresight could have perceived. They were defended, too, and stoutly, by their allies at home, when their acts were even detrimental to the interests of those allies.—Watched, suspected, and hated for their love of civil and ecclesiastical independence, they invariably escaped the snares laid for their destruction. Helping to maintain the Republic in England for a time, they founded one in New England for all time, and even under the very shadow of Monarchy the while.

It is not within the range of our subject to attempt to portray the characters of the Pilgrims—to endeavor to do them justice. But it is impossible not to refer to their characteristics, even in a sketch of their Commerce, for with them, as with all men, in History, Faith made the Man—whether as a Civilian or Upholder of Religion. The Puritan, and his polity were not sustained, moreover, by their defects, but virtues His Commonwealth was not really founded on his misconceptions in regard to Divine or human legislation, but on positive and liberal ideas. The Puritan began by almost ignoring the advantages of Commerce, but when he saw his mistake, he became a firm and wise upholder of it, and was abundantly rewarded for his efforts. No Colony after its first start ever surpassed, let us say, ever equalled it for energy, industry, prudence, and economy. This the English Parliament in 1643 practically admit. The Puritan and his Commonwealth, too, were saved by what was good in them—and there was much. If he sometimes went back almost to first prejudices, he went back also to first principles in his faith and polity. The glory of his fame may be brighter, and its shadow somewhat deeper than is usual among men, for his lot was a more peculiar one. As the Pioneer of the Great Republic of religious and civil Liberty—seeking to lay the foundations of its power upon first principles, and that too amid severe spiritual and temporal trials, it is no wonder, that he should have sympathised with the Jews when journeying to their promised Land—adopted some of their views, and felt himself like the Israelite - with the Egypt of Tyranny behind him, the perils of the way and the Heathen around him, and the promised Kingdom before him. Taking the Bible, as his literal guide, his visions and his journeyings were directed by its Light and Shadow, and that Light and Shade were cast from that Column, shrouding the Great Jehovah, which swept with such awful yet serene majesty over the trembling deep-day-shadowed or crimsoned night-sands of Arabia So before our Fathers, visible to the eye of Faith, swept that awful column of cloud and flame, but over the desert of the sea and not the shore, and into the New Canaan filled with a more numerous Heathen, but of a still more abundant promise—the later Palestine of greater blessings both for the body and the soul. More or less of such a faith and belief entered into the hearts of the Puritans who sought these shores—and something also of the exclusive spirit of the Israelites as against the outside world. The parallel was carried at times too far with the Puritan, since he cut off even those who agreed with him in essentials, if not in forms. Such mistakes generally arose however not from the mere wantonness of tyranny, but that gravity of belief, which considers a different faith as heresy, and as the great evil, because destructive to the Soul. What the Puritan did right, he did well—earnestly, perhaps sternly, but thoroughly, and that both in Church and State. What he did amiss, was done as earnestly and decidedly—a proof both of the grave sincerity of his motives, and the fallibility of all human judgment in the hour of conflict between human power, whether temporal or spiritual, and the new faiths demands and wants of humanity. The Puritan failed in his mistakes and preju-

dices, but lived, and will ever live in his virtues.

The Home Company in England—under whose auspices Salem was permanently settled—was originally intended (says Hutchinson,) for trade and colonization, like the East India, and other great companies. It is certain, however, that the leading commercial men of the Company, Cradock, as an instance, had nobler views than mere pecuniary ones, although desiring, of course, remuneration for their outlays. The transfer of the Patent and Government here in 1630 moreover aided the commercial as well as civil freedom of the Colonists, since it was a practical bar to any Company monopoly in England. That transfer gave also, practically, the land of Massachusetts to the government of the Colony, which soon thereafter held it mainly as a trust for the common benefit of the people, which was not the original intention of the Company. This community of interests was partly based on old Saxon laws, and partly, perhaps, on reasons and necessities arising from their religious belief—their acknowledgement of common needs and a common destiny in things temporal, as spiritual. It gave a somewhat democratic character, at all events, to the partition of lands, and the establishment of the common rights of the Colonists in the ungranted land—the rights to wood, grass, pasture, passage,—of sea and shore. The necessity which compelled the early authorities of the Colony to grant land *in fee*, without reservation of rent or other qualification, so that the settlers should not be discouraged by not having lands of their own,—this very necessity both gave and begat a freedom which was fatal to all monopoly. The necessity, moreover, which compelled the early authorities to discharge the company servants, that they might not perish by famine while under their control, broke down the partition wall of an old-world Caste never to be rebuilt. The settlers under the charter had also valuable commercial privileges—being free from all duties to and from English ports for 7 years, and thereafter for 21 years, except after the 7 years 5 per cent on merchandize entered into the English ports. At first, these privileges were thought but little of by the Puritan settlers.—They were thinking more of their independence of England in matters of faith, than of any commercial advantages to be gained in the new country. The Company in London urged trade upon them with a divided motive, partly to pay the expenses of colonization, and partly to defeat the schemes of Gorges and Mason by occupying advanced trading posts, and so gaining or maintaining title by adverse occupancy. The early Puritan settlers, however, besides feeling small interest in trade, found themselves on arrival in a position, not alone of independence, but without restraint. A wide ocean rolled between them and all home control. There was no spiritual or temporal power over them, whose arm could be immediately felt. A new and boundless Continent lay before them, with all its wealth and resources—the very aids to their spiritual independence. They were themselves laboring under a new vision for the future; were new men—with a new faith—in a new world.—Some of their dreams were grand and true; some were mixed with old world prejudices and tyrannies. Suddenly called upon to realize their wishes, hopes, ideas and prayers amid new and strange scenes, privations, dangers and sufferings, is it to be wondered at, that they, being human, should make errors? that having been bitterly persecuted, they in turn should sometimes abuse power? that having a stern, hard lot, they should at times be cold and literal themselves, or that they should occasionally mistake bigotry and prejudice for principle? Sudden freedom and power in this new world put them to the *practical* test, and by this, but in charity, must they be judged.

It is pretty certain, however, that the commercial schemes of the Company at home proved a failure; that they realized neither power nor

profit under their charter—that the transfer of that charter to Massachusetts; the independence of the Colonists here—at times even defiant—the large emigration into Salem; the peculiar circumstances of the Colony; and the civil troubles in England,—all served in a few years to open the way for liberty, both civil and commercial,—a liberty, the fruits of which we, even at this day, are reaping.

The entire separation of the Colony from England, may be said to commence at the settlement of the Puritans here. It was so also at Plymouth. The religious yoke is first thrown off—then follows the civil. There is an ostensible deference paid at times to the civil authorities in England, but underneath all there is a solemn determined and earnest independence of the mother country—the deep undertone of the faith and policy of the Colony. The Colonists were not, perhaps, always aware whither this was tending, and some of their measures were rather in reasonable disregard of England, and for economy, than pointedly intended as independent measures; but, as it had been with the faith of the Colonists, so it was with their commerce and trade, and they soon freed themselves, and were freed by circumstances also, from any restraint by the home Company, and resisted (and wisely and justly too,) the application of the laws of trade, which the Rulers of England, particularly after Cromwell's decease, sought to fasten upon them. The policy of the General Court and the large towns, from an early day, was to free themselves from dependence on England—to develope their own resources.—From the year 1645, and running to the American Revolution, commences a series of measures and laws fostering home *manufactures of hemp, flax, clothing, &c.—some of these measures being very stringent and compulsory. As early as 1645-6, a Town meeting was ordered in Salem to consider a stock of cotton wool—an agent at Barbadoes—and sowing of hemp and flax. The "Agent at Barbadoes" was of course to collect cotton for the public benefit, and in furtherance of the home manufacturing policy of the Colonists. This policy was not carried through without opposition from the English manufacturers, who, in after years, opposed it bitterly, but fortunately without success.

The Home Company begin their trade with Salem and vicinity in 1628. They send over with Endecott certain goods to traffic with the natives for beaver, otter, and other furs, and in 1629 he is ordered to send home to the Company in London two or three hundred firkins of Sturgeon and other fish, timber. †sassafras, †sarsaparilla, †sumach, †silk grass, and

*Up to 1680, however, Massachusetts seems to have exported few or no manufactures, the cloth, both woolen and Linen, shoes, hats &c. made here were used in the country. Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d Series, vol 8, p 335, Governor Bradstreet's answer to the Lords of the Council.

†The "Sassafras" was the root of the Sassafras Tree, [Snrub?] valued in 1602 at 3 shillings a pound, and £336 the ton. To it was ascribed "Sovereign and Manifold Virtues." In Archer's account of Gosnold's Voyage to the North part of Virginia. (New England) Mass Hist. Coll. 3d Series 8th vol. pp 77–8, there is recorded a cure of "a great Surfeit" by the "powder of Sassafras." Sassafras seems to have been especially sought after by the early traders, most probably as a medicinal drug. It was called by the native inhabitants "*Wynauk.*" It was thought to be good against contagious diseases.

†The silk grass, or grass silk was similar to that found in Persia, and out of which a somewhat coarse silk stuff called grograine [grogram] could be made. See Tracts appended to Brereton, Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d Series vol. 8, page 117. Through the kindness of Prof. John Lewis Russell, of Salem, we have been enabled to state what this grass is. He has determined it to be the *Yucca filamentosa* found growing in the Southern and Western States, and there vulgarly called Bear and Buffalo grass. Whether it grew wild in *New England* at that time is somewhat questionable. It appears to have been found in Florida and Virginia proper.

†The Sumach was well known and used in England in several of the arts, as affording a fine dye for black, green, or yellow—also for tanning. It is perhaps the *Virginia* Sumach which is meant, and

Beaver. Corn seems to have been at first paid the Indians for Beaver—afterwards Wampum. The Colonists this year demand of the Home Company in turn, men skillful in making salt and pitch. ‡Staves are ordered this year as part of the return cargo of the Company ; also Beaver and other furs, Clapboards and other wood. The Company seem now to ‖control trade in Salem almost entirely, but this seems to have lasted but a very short time.

In 1629 we find the Home Company sending into Salem six ship builders, of whom Robert Moulton is chief, and two coopers and cleavers of timber, the last to prepare staves for return cargo, and that they order *three* ¶shallops to be built in Salem, doubtless for fishing purposes. It is most probable that these shallops if ever built, were built upon the Neck, near or upon Winter Island, which was used for the fisheries and ship-building from the very commencement of the town. There was in 1637 a §forest side to the Neck, as appears in

which grows naturally in almost every part of North America.

†Sarsaparilla is most probably the same root as the Virginia and Jamaica Sarsaparrilla, and which from its superiority finally excluded the oriental species from commerce. This is most probably the same Root "*Tsinaw*" mentioned in the tracts appended to Brereton (Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d series, vol. 8, page 119) as being one of the native products of Virginia. Both Sassafras and Sarsaparilla appear to have been abundant in New England at the first settlementor, or are reported so.

Flax and Hemp were also native products of Massachusetts, but the high price of labor is the reason given for their non exportation about 1680. Enough only was raised for domestic purposes.

‡It is very probable that the Colonists, who were engaged then or afterwards in fishing, gave about five months of the year to that calling, and the remainder to planting, cutting timber, cleaving pipe staves, making clap-boards, boat building, &c. We infer this from some things (mentioned in Levett's voyage into New England 1623–4) that could well be done by Fishermen in these parts, and the Colonists were certainly a very industrious, capable set See Mass Hist. Coll. 3d Series, vol. 8, p 187. The Colonists, it appears first fished in our harbors and bays, and at the Banks of Newfoundland, and afterwards also off the coast of Acadia [Nova Scotia].

‖For the trade of the Company in London with Salem see Felt's annals. It was at first a monopoly, or something very nigh it. Our object is to sketch the trade of the Colonists—*their own trade*—and not the Company's trade, which was both a forced one, and of short duration. As a monopoly, it seems to have been abandoned both in London and Salem, and even then seems not to have been remunerative, to judge by Hutchinson, and others.

¶The Shallop (chaloupe) is the long boat, the largest boat usually accompanying a ship, furnished with a mast and sails. Those fitted for tenders to ships-of-war were sometimes decked and armed. *Falconer's Marine Dictionary*, 1789. An Encyclopedia of 1798 describes the Shallop as a large boat with two small masts and lug sails. It seems to have been in vogue, though with different rigs, with the French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. The word *Sloop* is an abbreviation of Shallop or Shalloop, though now having an entirely different signification.

Judging from what is said of the shallop in the New England Voyages in the Mass. Hist. Coll.,—of what Prince and Bradford say, and the comparison Hutchinson makes between the fishing shallops of 1749 and the fishing schooners then employed, the shallop of New England was often a decked boat of from ten to twenty tons. Like our New England pinnace, it seems to have been larger than its namesake in England or Europe, to judge by Marine Dictionaries. In a manuscript journal of a voyage 'In ye good Sloop Sarah' from the Island of Jersey to Cape Ann in 1724, which journal is in our possession, we notice the following, confirmatory of these views in regard to the shallop *as a large decked boat*

'From Thursday to Fryday ye 10th of July, 1724. * * * at 4 this morning sounded, found 65 fathom cors (coarse) gr y sand, got a cusk, saw two shallops & one Skooner of Marblehead, and they told us that Cape Sable Bore of them N. N. W Dist. about 15 Leagues.' These shallops appear to have been fishing off Cape Sable, and were, to judge by what Hutchinson says of them in 1749, about half the size of the schooner of that day.

§[25th of the 7th moneth, 1637] 'George Wright is granted half an acre of the Neck to build upon, and five acres on the forest side to plant on, and to keep a Ferry between Butt poynt and Darbye Fort.' 1st vol. Records of Salem, page 25.

Note. The above would seem to indicate by one

the Book of Grants in Salem, and from this very forest, the first craft in Salem may have been framed. Salem became noted afterwards as one of the principal places for building vessels in the Colony.

The early, the long continued, the staple trade of Salem, was the ‡fisheries. We see indeed some of her sons from 1630 to 1658 engaged in the Beaver and Peltry trade, once valuable, but this was almost extinct in 1688, and at that time the fisheries, whale and other, were as productive as ever. The harbor and rivers of Salem swarmed with fish, among which cod and bass were very plenty So plentiful were they, that they were used for manure up to 1639, when the General Court forbid it.— Great favor was early shown the fishermen in Massachusetts by law, such as freedom from taxation on their stock and fish, and from military duty while engaged in their occupation. The early foreign trade, that is imports of the colony, seems during the first few years to have been in the hands or power either of the Home Company, or the Government of the colony, as representing either them or the colonists ; but it is doubtful if this policy ever extended over the fisheries, or if so, it must have been for a very short period. The fisheries were considered so important, that as early as 1635, the

manner of reading, certainly, that there was a *building side* and a *forest side* to the Neck in 1637. *It may be* that the "forest side" means Forest (River) Side, though it seems otherwise. As the Islands in our Harbor were, however, "*replenished with thicke wood and high trees*" (according to Mr Higginson) in 1629, it is most probable that the Neck was covered, in part at least, by a native forest, and that out of this forest there were trees fit for ship-building.

That the Neck was very early used for ship-building, we infer, from one or two items of History. In 1636, Richard Hollingworth, *a ship builder*, gets a grant of land from the Town, and in 1690 the land (*on the Neck*) formerly belonging to Richard Hollingworth, was ordered to be laid out (Felt 1st vol. 192 page). Moreover, in 1637 (20th 4th mo.) Richard Johnson is received an inhabitant and is appointed half an acre of Land (the same amount as George Wright was granted on the Neck) "for an house lott *nere unto Richard Hollingworth's workes*. Salem Records, 1st vol. page 21. As it is a matter of history that this Richard Hollingworth buil a ship of 300 tons in Salem in 1641, these items, with the tradition on the subject, which agrees with them, go to prove that Richard Hollingworth had a *ship-yard* on the Neck in 1637. Robert Moulton probably had one there even before him. Ship-building may also have been commenced thus early in the *Creek* (South River). George Curwen (according to tradition) built a ship there in 1640.

‡The English had freely used the coast of New England for the fisheries before the settlement at Salem, and the royal charter reserved this right to Englishmen after the settlement—a right which was freely used, it seems. Newfoundland had an English settlement at the time.

The early fisheries were quite profitable, to judge from Levett's account of the trade in 1623-4, where in he says he has "attained to the understanding of its secrets." According to him, a ship of 200 tons, with a crew of 50 men, the ordinary crew for such sized vessels in the fisheries, would be at an outlay of some £800—the cost for 9 months victualling, &c. One third of the catch, "fish and train," being deducted as "fraught" for the owners—another as a share for the crew—and the balance for expenses,—the owners' one third part of the cargo would yield £1340 "for disbursing of £800 9 months." The cargo sold in Spanish ports from 36 to 44 rials per quintal.

Our Salem fishing craft were not so large as Levett's "ship," but were shallops of from 10 to 20 tons, say—ketches of from 20 to 40—and finally schooners from 30 to 60 or more, carrying not more than from 4 to 8 or 10 men say. Small boats were perhaps used at first. Still the trade was profitable, Salem and Massachusetts being built up by it in the early day. The fisheries and the timber trade gave Salem, doubtless, two thirds or more of her early wealth.

In the middle ages, the Alchemists said, "*cum sole et sale omnia fiunt*," Wilhembulkels seems to have been the first, who, in the middle ages, suggested the idea of making use of salt in the curing of fish. The plan succeeded so well that Charles the Fifth, being in the low countries, went to Bier-Vliet to see the tomb of the humble fisherman, wishing thereby to honor the memory of one who had rendered so great a service to his country. American Journal of Pharmacy, vol. 31 No. 3 page 259.

General Court appoint a committee to *impress* men, who shall unload *salt* when it arrives.—This is evidently in a good part owing to the value of the salt for the fisheries. They were not hampered with the early restrictions imposed on foreign imports so far as we can find, and soon became profitable. After the colonists had built their houses, cleared their lands, established their common rights, raised enough to help support life, either in ‖grain or animals and somewhat settled down, their attention was more particularly devoted to the fisheries. It seems most probable that a certain class of men, however, devoted themselves in Salem almost exclusively to this business, and from the commencement of the town. Winter Island was their head quarters. They obtained the use of certain lots on the Island, and certain common rights adjacent, and this island continued to be used by fishermen until, and after a division of the common lands about 1714. It was there expressly reserved by the commoners for the fisheries, as it had ever been before. This reservation, moreover, was of a great common right, viz—the free use of this Island for fishing purposes; since the *fee* seems, as a general rule, never to have left the town like other grants. Those who built houses, fish-houses, warehouses and wharves on this Island, only gained an *usufructuary* right for the time being. Yet this Island has seen a busy fishing population gathered upon it, and as late as 1731 there were conveniences upon the Neck, which in all probability means this Island, for *forty* vessels and their fares. All this is now a tale of the past. Indeed, just before 1700, this Island was a still busier scene in all probability, as Salem sent out over sixty fishing Ketches, of from twenty to forty tons, which evidently discharged their cargoes in Salem, and most likely on the common ground or land for the fishermen In 1660, Baker's and Misery Islands were both set apart by the General Court for the free use of fishermen, and were probably intended to be especially used by the Salem, and perhaps Marblehead fishermen. From the year 1629 to 1740, or thereabouts, ¶Winter Island seems to be the head quarrers of the Salem fishing trade, and that trade itself seems to have been our *staple* trade down to a much later period, even to the American Revolution, and the great change of trade consequent upon it.

According to the same authority, the Hebrews were well acquainted with the antiseptic properties of salt, and employed it in the preservation of their meats. The Pagans even used it to retard the putrefaction of the flesh of their victims.

For Levett's calculations of the profit of the fishery, see Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series vol. 8 ‖p. 186-7. Article—*Levett's Voyage into New England.*

‖Massachusetts could not well have *exported* much *grain* before 1640, whatever she may have exported in fish, since in 1637 there were only 37 ploughs in the whole colony, says Graham, the most of them being in Lynn.

¶Winter Island seems (according to Felt's Annals,) to have been used for the Fisheries up to about 1739. The business was then removed, and it was let with the Neck for pasturage of cattle. In 1679, so many were the residents there, that John Clifford was licensed to keep a victualling house for their convenience. In 1684, several merchants had leave to build wharves on its flats. In 1698–9, the Island had a regular street, called Fish street; and in 1701 the shoremen had permission to fence it in, to keep out animals, with a gate for men and carts. When the Commoners in 1714 granted it to the town, they expected it would always be used for the fishing business, as it had been before. It would seem as if even the *building* lots early granted to the fishermen on this Island, were only *usufructuary* rights, since the whole fishing village there has totally disappeared The building lots, on the contrary, granted in the body of the town, were mainly proprietary—generally with certain conditions to be first performed—and thence in fee. See Vol. 1st, Records of Salem, *passim.* It may be as well here to state that what is now Collins' Cove, at the bottom of Essex street, was anciently called "Shallop Cove," according to tradition—and this because the fishermen moored their shallops there, and lived on the shores. This was an important Cove of Salem, at and prior to 1692. It had a street of fishermen's huts, which ran on a line with the Cove.

It is not probable that the Commerce of Salem began to have an independent being before *1640-1. The arrivals before that time are mostly foreign ships into Salem—that is vessels belonging to the corporation in England, or other parties abroad. These supplied the colony with various needed articles, which seem to have been under the control of the General Court and Governor, who levied certain duties upon them. The Governor, (Hutchinson says,) was the naval officer of the colony. The monies so raised went into the colonial treasury. As to the laws of trade in England, the colonists seem to have ignored them utterly — Up to 1670 no custom house seems to have been established in New England by the home authorities. From 1629 to 1640 Salem seems to get along without much shipping of her own, but the failure of the emigration about the latter year, threw her upon her commercial energies, and the Rev. Hugh Peters stimulated her with a far sighted sagacity into ship building. To be sure, between these years we see occasional gleams of commercial life in the first few beginnings of the colonists. A small vessel of some twelve tons (belonging to Salem) is in our bay in 1631, with two hogsheads of train (whale?) oil as an item of her cargo.—

*Hutchinson says that the colonists began about 1637 to build small vessels for the fisheries, and trade with the adjacent colonies. The leading men, at the first, in Massachusetts, were not in favor of, or engaged in commerce. The colony was probably forced into it to supply its wants. It is most probable that prior to 1637, Robert Moulton, of Salem, and his shipwrights built several small decked vessels on the Neck, for fisheries and trading. The three shallops to be built in 1629, were very probably decked boats of several tons burthen.

The first mention of commerce in the *Colony Records* is in 1645, when friendly foreign ships are permitted to trade here on payment of certain duties—almost a free trade. In 1652 a committee are appointed to consult the best way of trade (*Note.*—Commerce had, however, evidently got to be a power in the State before 1645 or 1652, or the General Court would not have been aroused to its importance.)

In 1655 we see that the General Court adopt a protective policy for the staple commodities of this country, by forbidding the importation of malt, wheat, barley, biscuit, beef, meal and flour (which are described as our principal commodities) from any part of Europe, unless it be to provision ships, on penalty of confiscation! See Colony Records.

She perhaps comes up from Cape Cod, where whales were first captured by small boats from the beach. The same year a pinnace goes down from Salem to Plymouth for corn. Salem had an abundance of canoes (pine dug outs) in 1633, and there were more here than in the whole Patent. With these the colonists ferried our rivers and went out even leagues to sea for fowling, fishing, &c. After these, doubtless, came shallops, †pinnaces, and finally larger craft. The impetus given by Rev. Hugh Peters in 1640-1 to ship building, produced an abundant supply of vessels in a few years. Richard Hollingworth, a ship builder by trade, and who came to Salem in 1635, began in Feb'y, 1641, to build a ship of three hundred tons, which was finished and launched the succeeding June. From all which can now be gathered, his ship yard appears to have been in the lower part of Salem, on the Neck. This ship may be the ship Mary Ann, of Salem, mentioned as of 1643. What number of vessels were thus built in Salem about this pe-

†Falconer, in his marine Dictionary—1789—describes the Pinnace as an *eight oared* boat, navigated with oars and sails, having generally two masts, and rigged like a schooner. This description, however, is manifestly inapplicable to the early Pinnaces of New England, for Prince, in his New England Chronology, speaks of the arrival into Salem, May 27, 1631, of a Pinnace of 18 tons, from Virginia laden with corn and tobacco—a very happy arrival, the corn, at least,—for the Colonists then here. She was bound further North, but foul weather compelled her to put in here Prince moreover speaks of the way in which the Plymouth Colonists in 1626 made a *small* Pinnace, viz: by sawing in halves their larger Shallop, adding five or six feet in the centre,—strengthening her timbers,—building up decks, and giving her sails and anchors. From further items in Prince, it appears that the Pinnaces of New England were large decked boats, for not only can they carry 100 bushels of corn, 12 Hogsheads of corn, &c., but he mentions the fact that Capt. Dermer went from Cape Cod to Virginia, discovering by the way Long Island Sound, "in an open pinnace of five tons." The presumption is, then, that the Pinnaces of the Colony were generally large decked boats. Prince mentions one Pinnace sent over to the Plymouth Company by the adventurers in England for the use of the Colony, of *forty four* tons burthen. Pinnaces and Shallops are very often mentioned in the early history of Massachusetts—the Shallops appearing, however, to be the smaller boat, and often *open*.—The *Ketch* was built here quite early, to judge by an item in Prince. As Prince gets his facts mainly from Bradford, we can be sure they are correct.

riod does not appear, but probably quite a number. It is most likely that small vessels were built to supply the colony with grain from the neighboring colonies, for Massachusetts seems never to have produced continuous abundant export crops of grain. At times, corn and wheat were alarmingly scarce in the colony. Massachusetts had a more certain crop in her fisheries, and the mackerel, cod, cusk, &c., which she soon cured and exported to the West Indias and Spain, brought her back an abundance of money and foreign produce to supply her own needs. Besides fish and oil, she first sent back to the Old Country, timber, tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, clapboards, and other wood, and afterwards to the West Indies her lumber, corn, beef, pork, (masts, clapboards ?) pipe staves, and sundry other commodities. In ‡1643 the English Parliament release New England from all duties on imports and exports which are for home consumption. Massachusetts, and Salem as an important port in it, seem now to have fairly entered into the West India and colonial trade. Salem began cautiously, but soon used her commercial freedom to advantage. The Portuguese and Spanish West Indies were not forgotten, though her largest trade was, it would appear, with ‖Barbadoes and the leeward Islands. She traded with the Dutch and English Buccaneers also, who, robbing the Spaniards of their bullion, paid it over to Salem and New England merchants for supplies. About this time the larger colonies also unite for defence and protection, and a common spirit of good will and of enterprise bind them together commercially, and favors adventurous trade. Being, too, on the right side of the Republican party in England, they are favored in that quarter, and this was a decided advantage. We find, moreover, that our Salem people as a general rule discuss matters of trade as a *public* affair, for in 1645 a general town meeting is ordered to consider of "Publique tradings and other things." The community soon seem to have been awake to the importance of trade either internal or external, for we find the subject of manufactures, clothing, trade, raising of wool, flax, ¶hemp, &c., not unfrequent topics of public discussion in town

‡"In consideration of the success and increase of the New England Colonies, and that they had been *no charge* to the nation, and in prospect of their being in future very serviceable to it, the English Parliament, March 10, 1643, granted them an exemption from all customs, subsidies and other duties, until further order." This gave to the Colonies a freedom of trade, by which they flourished greatly.

‖We hear much of Barbadoes as one of the early and earliest Ports at which our Salem vessels traded. This Island, according to Pinkerton, was settled by the English as early as 1624, is one of the chief of the Carribee Group, was exceedingly fertile, and became the favorite centre of a great emigration during the civil commotions in England, so that in 1650 it contained some twenty thousand white population. Being left to its own efforts, and with an unlimited freedom of trade, it flourished greatly. Charles the 2d, at the restoration, for its loyalty, bestowed the dignity of Baronetage on thirteen of its principal inhabitants. Antigua, called Ontega, another of the group, mentioned in our later Salem commerce, may be said to have commenced to flourish *after* 1674, and at or about 1700 contained some five thousand white inhabitants. Barbadoes produced, as chief products, sugar, cotton, ginger and aloes. Antigua, sugar, Cotton Wool and Tobacco. This latter Island had excellent harbors, which may have rendered it more of a favorite for our shipping than some others of the Carribee Group. According to *Salmon*, (in his Geographical Grammar, 1760,) Barbadoes was settled mainly by Cavaliers from England. Tobacco was first planted there, which did not succeed, and afterwards Cotton and Indigo, which were profitable. Sugar works were first erected by the English Cavaliers in 1647, and the trade then became profitable. The sugar trade of N. E. with Barbadoes commenced say between 1647 and '50. The Cotton Wool trade began before. That Salem should have commenced trading with Barbadoes is very natural, since S. was for a while after its settlement the resort of the moderate Episcopalians--those who had not entirely abandoned the Church and State of England, and Barbadoes was not very distant from this faith and belief.

St Christopher seems to have been the first settled of the British West India Islands, though Barbadoes has the credit of being. St. Christopher seems not, however, to be mentioned much in our early Salem Commerce, that is before 1700. Philip English was trading there in 1688-9, to judge by old accounts. Edwards' Hist. West Indies, Vol. 1, 405, commences the history of this Island, which see.

¶Hemp grew wild in Massachusetts, and the Indians (says Lewis,) made fishing lines of it of great fineness. The early Colonists were advised by those in Authority to cultivate it for manufacturing purposes; and the Inventories of the old estates sometimes show that this advice was heeded.

To be Continued.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM FROM 1626 TO 1740—WITH A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH—A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

[Continued from Page 76.]

If we are to judge of the success of our Salem fishermen about 1647, by that of our Marblehead brethren at the same time, we shall see that this trade was valuable; for the latter had taken up to the middle of January that year, about £4000 worth of fish. In 1648 Salem suffered, we must believe, from the scarcity of corn, caused by its excessive importation from Mass. to the Spanish and Portuguese West Indies; and it is not at all unlikely that these repeated scarcities of grain finally compelled our people to retain their own grain, and even replenish their stores by seeking the more Southern settlements, Virginia and Maryland, where wheat and corn were a staple crop. At all events this trade sprang up, and most probably in this natural way Virginia and Maryland, perhaps before, but certainly after 1680, took West India products, Rum, Molasses and Sugar, and also salt, wood en ware, Kegs, Cider, Cans, &c. from us, and in return gave us Wheat, Corn, Pork, Bacon, Peltry, Tobacco, Hides, Old Iron, &c. Boston seems to have been, throughout, the great magazine of English and European goods and manufactures, and supplied the Colonies mainly with these. As early as between 1650 and 1660 a line of Packets ran between Boston and the old country. Between the years 1629 and 1650, especially between '40 and '50, Salem commenced her commercial career, and at the close found herself with shipping and means; and trading not alone with the mother country, but with the West Indies, Bermudas, Virginia and Ontega (Antigua.) She had found supplies of salt, probably at *Saltitudos and *Tortuga, and most probably also received them from Lisbon, Cadiz, St. Ubes and Isle of May. So important had become the commerce of Massachusetts, and Salem shared no mean part of it, that a Committee are appointed in 1650 to examine a book entitled "*Lex Mercatoria*," and report to the next Gen'l Court what they find therein applicable to "deciding of maratime affairs in this jurisdiccon." During this period, however, the Bar-

**Saltituda*, or *Saltitudos*, may be what is now known as *Salt Island*, one of the Virgin Group, West Indies, S. E. of Tortola, and belonging to the English. It is evidently a Spanish word, and perhaps a diminutive of the name *Salt Island*. It is difficult to locate this spot, even if an English possession, since *Salmon*, in his Geographical Grammar of 1760, is entirely silent about it. At all events, we may safely conclude that *Salt* was the staple product of this place, wherever it was located in the W. I. group.

Tortuga is probably the Tortuga of the Carribee group, close to the Spanish Main, and not the Tortuga near St. Domingo—an early French possession. Edwards, in his history and map of the West Indies, 1793, calls the Tortuga, near the Spanish main,

bary †Corsairs troubled our commerce seriously.

In connection with the fisheries, ship building of course flourished, and great pains were taken by the ‡early authorities of Salem to

"*Salt Tortogo,*" which makes our supposition the more probable.

Various attempts were made by a few of the early and enterprising Colonists to supply our Salem fisheries with Salt manufactured here, and they obtained certain protective privileges from the General Court in aid of their efforts, but the Colonists obtained their main supplies abroad, and were compelled so to do. See Felt's Annals in regard to Salt manufacturing in Salem.

†Piracy and freebooting seem, in the early history of the Colony, to have been considered more as *an annoyance* than a *crime*. The West Indians were infested with Pirates—Freebooters—Dutch, French and English, who preyed generally upon the Spaniards and traded freely with the N. E. Colonists.

Buccaneering or freebooting does not seem to have been, or regarded as piracy in the beginning, because then based on regular letters of marque and reprisal. Besides, the Buccaneers were also smugglers for the Spaniards. Charles the 2d knighted Morgan, one of the celebrated Buccaneers, and (says Edwards' Hist. West Indies, Vol. 1, p. 161,) is charged with being privately concerned in their fortunes, even after having issued public orders for their suppression. The system begat license, however, but being fashionable in high quarters, no wonder that piracy, so much resembling it, should be regarded by the Colonists as an annoyance rather than a crime.

English pirates came boldly into Massachusetts Bay from 1685 to 1705, and plundered vessels, and though sometimes caught, generally seem to have escaped punishment. In 1689, pirates took the ketch Mary, Capt. Chard, three leagues from Half Way Rock, were afterwards captured in the Vineyard Sound, by Capt. Samuel Peas of Boston, brought to Boston and condemned, though they seem (says Felt,) to have been reprieved—and this too when they had mortally wounded their captor. This same year, the ship Pelican, a pirate, brought a prize into Salem (?) and sold her. It has been said that the pirates about New England, for thirty or forty years prior to 1700, were connived at. Lord Bellamont seems to have been the first who arrested and punished them. Numbers were executed in Boston just before 1700, while Bradish, Kidd and others were carried to England and executed. In 1704, Major Stephen Sewall, together with Captain John Turner and forty-eight volunteers from Salem, capture Capt'n John Quelch and his piratical crew, who had gone boldly into Gloucester, and Quelch and five of his men were hung. So says Felt. It would seem as if the freebooting spirit had rather been encouraged at first, as against the Spaniards; but the general license it begat, convinced the Colonists finally that it was totally wrong and criminal, and they resolved to break it up.

The history of Piracy and Freebooting has been written, and for a reference thereto, see Edwards' Hist. W. Indies, and Ree's Encyclopedia, Article, Buccaneer. After the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, Buccaneering in all quarters seems to have declined. Before that time, Port Royal, Jamaica, seems to have been their rendezvous—the English profiting by these forays as against the Spaniards. The Spaniards seem to have borne the principal brunt of these outlaws, who, if they could not smuggle for them, robbed them, whether by land or sea. The New England Colonies reaped, after all, perhaps, the main benefit of their forays against the Spaniards.

The Turks, that is, we presume, the Barbary and Tunisian pirates, troubled our early Commerce, especially when in the English Channel, for many years Even the vigorous action of the great Admirals of the Commonwealth in England, did not wholly subdue these outlaws. What withthese Pirates—Spanish, and French Privateers—English Freebooters, Dutch men-of-war, and the Indians—the Commerce of Salem up to 1730 ran at times a fearful gauntlet, saying nothing of the usual dangers of the Sea. It is evident that the old times of commerce were not as good as the new.

‡As early as 1637, the citizens of Salem prohibited the transportation of boards and Clapboards from their Plantation, without leave of the Selectmen, since many of "the best tymber trees" had already been used for these purposes; and in 1640 the Authorities publicly asked for plank fit for shipping, and forbid any ship timber near Salem or Marblehead being made into Clapboards or pipe-staves. As the forest in and around Salem was then a common property of the inhabitants, these laws had a public force. To judge by some accounts of Capt. Wm. English, as late as 1713-14, such laws were probably common to the maritime towns throughout New England; as he, being then at Branford, Connecticut, in the Briganteen Wm. & Susannah, charges as one item of expense at B., "*to ye Selectmen, for* 2

preserve the ship timber on the common lands for this purpose They seem to have been tolerably successful in their efforts. The first attempts at ship building in Salem were perhaps somewhat rough, for as late even as 1667, a maritime code of laws are adopted, looking to the better building of vessels, and more correct proceedings in admiralty cases. As early as 1644 the Gen'l Court pass an order for the better building of vessels.

From 1650 to 1660, Salem seems to have flourished. Beginning with a population of some two hundred say, in 1629, she had increased to some thousand or more in 1640, and in spite of the setting off of Marblehead, Wenham, Manchester and part of Topsfield between 1639 and 1650, still in 1654 she contained over a thousand inhabitants as is supposed, and in 1660 probably contained from a thousand to twelve or thirteen hundred. Her wealth was most probably great in proportion to her population. Her territory diminished, and almost her population, yet she flourished in trade. Being in favor with the Commonwealth and Cromwell, Salem in common with the colony flourished, while Bermuda, Virginia, Barbadoes and Ontega (Antigua) fell under the displeasure of the Parliament, because of their loyalty to the royal party, and were cut off from their trade for a while, and finally subdued. Very severe commercial ordinances were passed as against the colonies, but though professedly general in their nature, yet Massachusetts and New England never suffered much by them, the main intent of these laws being to punish the royalist colonies, Virginia suffering severely by them.

In 1651 Massachusetts is exporting corn, beef, pork, masts, clapboards, pipe staves, fish, beaver, otter and other commodities. In 1652 she commences to coin money, an act of sovereignty, and sends out her silver coin, the produce of the bullion taken from the Spaniards by the Buccaneers, and of the West India trade of the colonists. In 1654 no person is to carry out of Massachusetts more than 20 shillings in *coin, and searchers are appointed to see that the law is obeyed. About this time the Dutch trade (with New York) is so profitable to Massachusetts, that our people are indisposed to war with their Dutch neighbors, the other colonies being otherwise disposed. This shows that the commerce of Massachusetts with New York was then important, and in all probability Salem was somewhat engaged in it. In 1655 Admiral Blake punishes the Algiers and Tunis Pirates, and Jamaica is wrested from

permits to load Staves, five shillings." The 1st volume of the Town Records of Salem contains various items of interest in regard to the disposal of the ancient forest of Salem; the tenure by which it was held, both by the public and individuals, (the *wood* being sometimes expressly reserved for public uses in town grants of *land*) and the disposition to be made of it by fishermen and others. The history of the ancient common rights of Salem is a very singular and instructive one, and based upon a somewhat Democratic community of interests.

*Money was scarce in Massachusetts for a long period, and even the custom- were often paid in *grain*, of course at a certain cash value. The General Court in 1631 made Indian corn a legal tender for debts, unless money or beaver was expressly mentioned as the consideration. This was partly to encourage the raising of grain to prevent future famine, and partly, perhaps, a necessity of the times. Beaver, wampum, grain, fish, lumber and live stock were all *specie* in the early days of Massachusetts—part of them even down to 1775.

One of the reasons for this state of things was, that Massachusetts mainly created her own wealth by her own independent industry, and with none of the precious metals in her soil. It was in furtherance of her independent industry and spirit, that in 1652 she commenced coining money on her own account, and it is a striking evidence of her practical independence of the English government both at that time and for years afterwards. It was as reasonable in her, too, as it was independent, and was finally regarded in England as a practical declaration of independence, and is duly paraded as one of the crimes of Massachusetts in the judgment to vacate the colonial charter in 1684. The coining of money is one of the attributes of sovereignty, and was so considered as against Massachusetts.

the Spaniards, and so opens another field for our commerce. The fame of the great English Admirals of the commonwealth made all our colonial commerce more secure up to 1660, even the Dutch being obliged to give way before them. In 1655 the General Court see and feel the necessity of encouraging commerce as well as husbandry, and of promoting an union between them. In 1658 appears a notice of the farmers of the customs in Massachusetts, the customs being let out—farmed out—as was a custom in Old England at the time. Felt says that there was a port house (†Custom House) on the South River in Salem in 1636, and that there was another called *The French House* on South River in 1645, lasting thirty-four years. These must then have been instituted by the colonial authorities, and not by the home government.

From the restoration of Charles the 2d, in 1660 to ‡1670, the period when we take up the history of Philip English as one of our Salem merchants. Salem seems still to progress in commerce. Salem is ‖building vessels for her own trade, and perhaps for other places. From 1659 to 1677 there appear to be not less than four noted ship builders in Salem, one of whom, Jonathan Pickering, gets a grant of land about Hardy's Cove, from the town, to himself and heirs forever to build vessels upon.—From 1692 to 1718 seven ship builders appear prominent in Salem, among whom are the names of Joseph Hardy and William Beckett, the latter name being associated even down almost to these days with ship building—a Beckett having built the fast sailing America, cruiser, for the Crowninshields. In 1724 so important had become our ship building in Massachusetts, that sixteen master builders belonging to the Port of London petition the Lords of Plantations not to encourage ship building in New England. They say their journeymen are drawn to this country, and that in case of need there would not be a sufficiency of ships for the royal navy. Massachusetts was then too well rooted and grounded in independence and prosperity to heed these assaults. She practically disobeyed too, the act of 1660—the plantation act—which would have compelled her ships to give bonds to the Custom House in England, to carry plantation produce to England, or the other English possessions.—In 1662 our town authorities endeavor to accommodate at the Burying Point, those desirous of graving vessels, which shows our commerce then to have been of public importance. About this time the Virginia trade is of consequence, several of our citizens being engaged in it. In 1663 William Hollingworth, a Salem merchant, agrees to send 100 hogsheads of tobacco from the river Potomack by ship from

†The Custom House in Salem in 1682 was a small building adjoining, or attached to the old mansion of Benjamin Brown, Esq, still standing on Essex and East streets. This fact seems to indicate that the commerce of Salem at that period was carried on in the *lower* part of the town, and that this location was a *central* one. Our authority here is Benj. Brown, Esq., himself, now an octogenarian and a dweller upon the spot.

‡The Massachusetts colonists, according to Hutchinson, admitted to the King's commissioners in 1665, that they possessed about 80 vessels of from 20 to 40 tons, about 40 from 40 to 100 tons, and about a dozen ships above 100 tons. Of these Salem had undoubtedly built, and then owned, her share. The *Colony Records* confirm this. Vol. 4 part 2.

In 1680 Massachusetts seems to have about 120 ships, sloops, ketches and other vessels, viz:—8 or 10 ships of 100 tons or upwards, 3 or 4 of 200 tons or more, 40 or 50 fishing ketches between 20 and 40 tons, and about 6 or 8 English ships which come to trade. The most of these 120 vessels belonged to the colony. The balance (unaccounted for) were colonial, West India and other traders, we suppose, and were sloops and ketches very probably. See Mass. Hist. Coll.—Article, "Gleanings for New England History." 3d series vol. 8 page 338.

‖The Neck—about the Burying Point—on the creek (South River)—various places on the South River—Hardies Cove—Frye's Mills—are all noted as localities for *ship yards* in our Salem history—the Neck (including Winter Island) being probably the most ancient among them.

Boston to Plymouth in England, the Island of Jersey, or any port in Holland, and thence to the said Island for £7 sterling a ton. The unwarrantable war commenced against the Dutch by the home government in 1664, and which resulted in the capture of N. York from Holland, reacted upon the colonial commerce severely, for De Ruyter made in 1665 considerable havoc at Newfoundland, by accident alone was kept from New England, and alarmed all the colonies; and in 1667 some Dutch men-of war ravaged the coast of Virginia, plundered some eighteen or nineteen sail of merchantmen John Brown, son of elder John, of Salem, William Hollingworth, John Norman and Robert Stone of Salem, being taken prisoners and plundered by them. They threatened to visit New England, and this irritated and seriously alarmed the colonists.

In 1667 the colony encouraged the making a dry dock which is subsequently located at Charlestown. It appears in 1668 from a petition extensively signed in Salem, for the repeal of an order of a late General Court, laying a *duty of one per cent. on imports and exports, and 2 d on all grain from adjacent colonies, that from 30,000 to 40,000 bushels of grain were brought into Massachusetts. Other towns petition likewise. From this we see that Massachusetts was dependent on the more southern colonies, probably, for grain, and that a considerable trade was carried on between

*The duties levied by the Colonial Government on its Commerce were not oppressive, or if judged to be onerous were soon changed, especially as the General Court and Governor looked to the popular sentiment of the Colony, and respected it far more than the threats or frowns of the mother country, whether in matters of trade or policy. In 1635, the duties amount practically to £5 per cent. In 1636 Tobacco, strong drinks, Wine, Sugar, Spices, and fruit--that is articles of luxury—pay one-sixth of their value, with an additional one third for retailing. In 1645, Wines from different quarters pay from 5 to ten shillings the pipe—fresh wines 2s 6d per hogshead, and Strong Waters 10 shillings per hhd. In 1648, somewhat similar duties are paid on Spirits. In 1676, Goods, Wares and Merchandize, living cattle and provisions pay 10 shillings on each £100 value—Wines pay from 10 shillings to £1. per ton—Brandy £2 do. Every ship of 200 tons and upwards, 10 shillings the ton—small vessels each voyage 6s. 8d. (this was for the Colony vessels—their passes from the Governor, we presume)—Each Stranger vessel, not built in the Colony and above 20 tons, paid each voyage one half pound *powder* per ton, or 9d in money—Strangers vessels, a ton 6d—no customs on any exports, except 6d each on Horses. At this date, foreign vessels from all quarters trade freely with Mass., and are encouraged to do so by our authorities in direct opposition to the English Laws of Trade. In 1680, one penny a pound on goods imported—no export duty. In 1686, Sir Edmund Andros began his tyrannical rule in Massachusetts, and levied exorbitant taxes, according to *Trumbull*, part of which may have fallen on Commerce. In 1689, he is over thrown, and King William proclaimed. The Charter he grants, is not so favorable to the Colonists for Commerce, as their old one, which they had construed moreover in their own favor, and in a very liberal manner. As the Colonists had controlled their own trade, and had enjoyed heretofore a comparative free trade, and had thriven by it, and saw its advantages, they spiritedly declared through the first act of their Legislature after they had received the Charter, that "no aid, tax, tollage, assessment, *custom*, loan, benevolence, or *imposition* whatsoever shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on his majestys subjects or their estates, on any pretence whatever, but by the act and consent of the Governor, Council and representatives of the people assembled in General Court." This was intended to maintain their independence in trade, as before the charter, and in 1718, the General Court went so far as to lay a duty on English goods and English built ships, which, however, was soon repealed, but their boldness caused great displeasure in England. These things however show the spirit and independence of the Colonists. In 1726, the duties ran from 20 to 30 shillings per pipe on Wine—Rum 20s. the hhd. of 100 gallons—Sugar 2s. the hhd.—Molasses 1s. do—Tobacco 20s do—Logwood 3s. the ton—other goods or merchandize, except those from Great Britain, 1d. for every 20s. worth. In 1701, the duties on Rum and Wine in Salem, were £60 10s., and in 1732, £800 to £900. This latter amounted to three fifths of *the whole revenue* of Massachusetts in 1680—which was then, according to Gov. Bradstreet, about £1500.

them. As the colonial vessels in those days were small, and carried other articles besides grain, there were probably, (judging from cargoes some years later) from forty to fifty vessels employed in the coast trade, averaging from twenty-five to thirty-five or forty tons.—Of these, Salem undoubtedly had her share.—This, too, is independent of the fishing fleet, which doubtless was simply engaged in fishing. The colonial ketches and sloops ran to the West Indies, to Spain, the Wine Islands and the Streights, and brought return cargoes which were despatched †coastwise, together with our Yankee notions, and this very grain taken as part of the final return cargo to Massachusetts. It is certain that Salem flourished by this general trade, as Josselyn says of Salem in 1664, "In this town are some very rich merchants." The colonists seem occasionally to have been troubled with ‡piracy, both native and foreign, which was not put down until after 1700.

By a law passed by the town in ‖1669, refusing permission to transport wood or timber by land or sea from the town commons, without leave of the selectmen, we can judge that a free use had been made of the native forest of Salem for lumber, staves, and ship building, as well as wood for the fishermen, and the common use of the town, and that the scarcity was beginning to be felt. From the years 1640 to

†To judge by Gov. Bradstreet's answer to the Lords of the Council in 1680, our coastwise trade to Virginia and Maryland for grain, tobacco, &c, must have begun after that time, as he appears to be silent on the point. Knowing the desires of the authorities in England to fasten their laws of trade upon us, he may, however, have rather underrated our commerce and enterprise at that time. The trade (and *direct* Salem trade) with the southern colonies was evidently well established between 1660 and 1670, and was even then important. Between 1690 and 1720 it flourished greatly, and was prominent, if we are not mistaken, down even to the American Revolution.—The coastwise trade of Massachusetts, and of Salem as one of the *three* principal seaports in it, was confined principally at first —prior to 1640—to the New England states, and thence gradually extending to New York (with the Dutch) and still further South. So it seems, at least. The colonists finally purchased their grain, tobacco, &c., of Virginia and Maryland, by the West India produce they bought with their fish, &c. It is of course impossible to tell the exact time when *this* particular course of trade commenced. The colonies bought grain of the southern colonies at an early day, however—to judge from some few items of history. The early authorities of New England may not have been very communicative to the English rulers, knowing that every admission they made was to be used as an additional argument why they should conform to the laws of trade in England. The colonists plead poverty to evade these laws, sometimes truly, sometimes perhaps wisely; and occasionally resisted them outright. They sometimes boldly carried on a contraband trade, and the General Court was both wisely silent and blind in the matter. The colonists were for free trade, and it proved to be an ineradicable trait in their commercial character.

‡In 1684 the General Court pass an order for the seizure of pirates and privateers, authorizing certain officers to raise armed men for that purpose—making it lawful to shoot those resisting such officers or men under them, or if captured, are to be put to death as capital offenders. Any officer refusing to serve against such outlaws, to be fined £50 or be imprisoned, and any inhabitant called upon by such officers, if refusing to appear promptly, and well armed, to pay £5 or suffer corporal punishment.

In 1685 Capt. Sampson Waters of Boston, is granted a commission against certain pirates off New London, and a proclamation made by order of General Court, and by beat of drum, for volunteers. The volunteers, as an inducement, are to "have an equal and just division in all the pirates' goods and estates taken with them; and no purchase, no pay"—Lord Bellamont seems to have been the first who was successful in subduing them.

‖In 1676, however, Salem is said to be one of the principal places for building vessels, at £4 the ton. In Book 2 leaf 47 Salem Records (Registry of Deeds) is an agreement between John Browne & Company and William Stevens of Gloster, in N. E., shipwright, under date of 1661, in which Stevens agrees to build "one new shipp of sixty-eight foot long by ye keele &c" at £3 5s the ton. Brown & Company were connected with the *Jersey* trade, Browne himself being a resident of Salem, the others at the Isle of Jersey, as it appears. The trade was most probably a *French* one. The "shipp" appears to have been a little over 100 tons burthen, say 110.

1670 it is reasonably certain that Salem flourished greatly in commerce, and all branches connected with or dependent upon it. and to a greater extent comparatively, than for the thirty years after 1670, closing with the century. Her prosperity, in common with the colony, after 1670, attracted the jealousy and greed of the home government, and the days of the Commonwealth being numbered in England, she had no powerful friends there to interpret colonial laws in her favor, or drive her enemies from power. The impetus, however, which she had already gained in commerce, and her natural independence, carried her through and over many obstacles, nor was Salem fairly subdued by her subsequent ill-fortunes until 1711. Her troubles may have been said to have fairly commenced in 1677, when our General Court order the navigation laws of England to be obeyed, and culminated locally in 1692, with a continuation of commercial misfortune up to 1711.

The Fisheries, as we have said, were the main reliance of Salem in the early days, and were indeed declared by the Council to the House in 1708 to be "the chief staple of the Country." Great attention was paid of course to them. In 1670 the General Court denounce Tortuga Salt as impure, and declare Fish cured with it to be not merchantable. The phrase "*Merchantable Cod Fish*" is often met with in the old accounts some years prior to and after 1700, and this may in some degree explain the phrase. There is also the phrase "Refuse Cod," which was ordinary or defective from some cause, and was shipped largely to the West Indias, for the Negroes most probably. The dry Merchantable Cod Fish went to Spain, the Streights and the Wine Islands. In 1726 we see the General Court passing an act for the better curing and culling o Fish—the lack of care having brought our Fish into disrepute in foreign markets.

From the year 1670 to 1740, the period at which we close our remarks upon the commerce of Salem, our New England trade was to the *West Indies, and most parts of Europe—

*Among the old Commercial papers of the English Family, is found the following letter directed "To

Coron'll Samuel Brown Esq.,
March't in Salem,
New England.

St. Christopher, Feub: ye 14th, 1727–8

Coro'll Brown.

Sr— Having mett with ye Opportunity to writ to yon by Capt. Timberlake that Stoppen to come here from Suranam having bin taken to Windward of Martinico By ye Guarde coast & Brought to Guardeloope and had a law sute with them, I writ to you from Martinico to Acquaint you of Being a new General arrived there Which will not grant any permission att all, then I went to Guardeloope & they would not lett me come a Shoare then I went to Antigoa, & found ye Markett there so loe. fish was sold for 10s per ql then I came Here & thought fit to stay here Because wee have news of three Spanish Privateer that was about ye Leward Islands I sold all ye fish at 14 per ql Board sell from four to five pounds Rum is here 2s 3d p gall, Malasses is at 9d Cotton is at 12d p pound I can not sell ye Shingle I have about 10000 of Board to sell, there is no Soalt at any of ye Islands I here that ye fleet will not goe to Tortuga I shall make all ye Dispatch home Again I can, so Remain

Sr. yr Humble Serv't
John Touzel.

Molasses is very scase to be had"

NOTE. In No. 2 of this Magazine will be found a letter of Instructions from this same Sam'll Brown to Touzel in 1727. By the fleet going to Tortuga, Capt. Touzel probably means the New England vessels then trading to the West Indies, which would go to T. to load in part, at least, with Salt for the New England Fisheries. But what a pursuit of Commerce under difficulties does not this letter disclose? What with rumors of Guard Coasts, law suits, refusals to land, low markets, and Spanish Privateers, Capt. John Touzel seems to have had trouble enough! There is no doubt, but that he did "make all ye Dispatch home again" he could, keeping too his eyes sharply to windward as he sailed out of St. Christophers, and for many a good league beyond, to see whetner the "*Three Spanish Privateer*" were not on his track Right glad too was "Coron'll Samuel Brown Esq.," to see Capt John sailing peaceably into Salem Harbor, safe at last from fears and foes. Those who look upon the old times as the best, would have been cured of their delusion, no doubt, could they have taken this cruise with Capt John, *after* one to the West Indies and back in *this* day and generation.

We will only add, this Capt. John Touzel was a Son in law of Philip English, and appears to have

including †Spain, France, and Holland At times there appear to have been instances of irregular trade with the French at Newfoundland, by which brandy, wine, oil and English manufactures were brought into Salem. This trade seems to have been boldly and openly maintained however. From the year 1686 New England appears to have a flag of her own, having a cross of red color on a white ground with a crown in the middle of the cross, and under the crown J. R. (James Rex) A Dutch book entitled the Ship Builder, (so says Felt) and printed in Amsterdam in 1705, states that the flag of ‡New England is blue, with a white free quarter, which is divided in four by a red cross, having in the first subdivision a sphere of separated hemispheres, alluding to America as the New World.

From the years 1686 to 1689 inclusive, Salem is trading to ||Barbadoes, London, Fayal

sailed for William & Samuel Browne, noted merchants of that day. Some of his Sea Journals are yet extant, and in the Essex Institute.

†In the Salem Records (Registry of Deeds) Book 3 Folio 170, is to be found recorded the Instructions of Richard Lowe to his partner Mr. John Blackleach, who is directed to purchase what fish or other goods are needed (beside the fish already bought in Salem) for the Ketch *Blessing*, thence to proceed to Bilboa, Spain, to sell his cargo, and thence to some part of France, where it may be most advantageous to lay out the proceeds in Linen cloth, and whatever else may be best, and thence directly to Boston. Blackleach as partner is to have "*noe wages*" but instead, 10 per cent on the sale of Lowe's portion in Bilboa and 5 per cent do at Boston. Date of Instructions Nov. 21, 1672. From several wills we have seen in the Probate Office from about the same date to 1700, Bilboa, it seems, was a favorite market for our Salem vessels, and continued to be for a long time after.

‡It may be that the flag spoken of by the "*Ship Builder*," printed in Amsterdam, 1705, was a New England flag *prior* to 1686. What makes this probable, is, that in 1665 the King's Commissioners desire, among other things, that the true flag shall be hoisted on Massachusetts vessels. Colony Records, Vol. 4, Part 2. This would seem to imply that Massachusetts, if not New England, had *then* a flag of her own. The flag of 1686 is that of New England, under Sir Edmund Andros, and any one desirous of seeing a good representation of that flag, can find it (as taken from the British State Paper office,) in Arnold's History of the State of Rhode Island, Vol. 1, opposite page 496. It is by no means unlikely that Massachusetts (and New England acting with her,) had a separate flag as early as 1660 It was no more an independent measure on her part than the coining of money in 1652, and that was clearly an act of sovereignty. The Magistrates in 1673 tell *Wayborne*, who then complains to them of their permitting a free colonial and foreign trade, as against law, "that they were his majesties vice admirals in those seas, and that they would do that which seemed good to them," and they evidently did, including very probably the hoisting of a Colonial flag on board their ships. As the people then chose their own Governor and Admiralty officers, as well as Representatives, we can readily see that they had about their own way in all matters relating to Commerce It was not until the Charter was cancelled, that this freedom was checked—and then only to gain new force for the final explosion of Liberty at the Revolution.

||Among the English papers is a letter of Wm. Hollingworth, then a merchant in Barbadoes, under date of Sept. 19, 1687, which is of a commercial character, relating especially to the imports into that Island from Salem. The letter is directed on the outside, "For Mrs. Elanor Hollingworth, Att Sallem, In New England," and reads:

"Dear and Honoured mother

"My Duty be presented to you with my kind love to my brother and sister and to ye children. Yours by Mr. Prance I Recieved; fish now att present bares A good rate by Reason ye Newfoundland men are not yet Come in but I believe itt will be low anuffe about three monthes hence; bread and peiece [pease] hath been A good Commodity and Contenues, loumber is lowe still, oyle will be ye principle Commodity but in good Cuske wee are in great likelihood of A brave cropp; this latter part of ye year hath proved very Seasonable, ye lord be praised for itt, pray lett my brother see this letter I cannot tell what to advice him to send as yett besi les oyle but in A short tyme wee shall see what these newfoundland men will doe what quantitves of fish they bring in and then I will advice farther I will slip noe opportunity in advising him, soe with my serviss to all my frinus [friends] I subscribe my Selfe your obedient Son to Command. Wm Hollingworth.
pray fail not my dear Mother in sending me half

and Barbadoes, Pennsylvania, St Christophers, Virginia and Antigua. The great majority of her vessels are ketches from twenty to forty tons, and from four to six men. Only one ship appears among them, and her tonnage is but 130 tons. Salem however, it appears, was indirectly engaged also in the Virginia and Holland trade, carrying tobacco from Virginia to Europe. In 1690 there seems to have commenced a local trade of boating goods to and from Boston, but how long it continued after 1693 is in doubt. The French war now begins to trouble Salem, and from this time to 1697 she loses over fifty of her fishing ketches by the French and Indians. Some of our Salem people suffer in these years by being impressed on board British men of war. In 1698–9 Registers are taken out for 26 vessels belonging to Salem—2 ships, 1 barque, 3 sloops and twenty ketches. The most average from 20 to 40 tons. Only five exceed the latter amount. One of the ships was 80 and the other 200 tons. The largest was built here, as well as 17 more of the number.

In 1700 the foreign trade of Salem is thus described by Higginson :—"Dry Merchantable Codfish, for the markets of Spain, Portugal and the Straits. Refuse fish, lumber, horses, and provisions for the West Indies. Returns made directly hence to England, are sugar, molasses, cotton wool, logwood and Brasiletto wood, for which we depend on the West Indies. Our own produce, a considerable quantity of *whale and fish oil, whalebone, furs, deer, elk and bear skins are annually sent to England. We have much shipping here, and freights are low." From 1700 to 1714, inclusive, registers were granted to the following vessels of Salem, —4 ships, 3 barques, 9 brigs, 24 † sloops and 19 ketches. They ranged from 15 to 90 tons; 40 of them were built in Salem. In 1705 the ship Unity, of 270 tons, was built in Salem,

kentle of Cuske and some aples and some barberyes and ye lott of Cuske.

Barbadoes, Septm 19, 1687, *Bridgetown.*

My Serviss to Mr. Croade, Mr. Andrews and to Mr. Adames, and to Mr. Benj. Allin. W. H.

NOTE. The *oil* mentioned in this letter, may, in part, have been *Whale* oil from the Cape Cod whale fisheries, or taken perhaps by Salem whaling boats in Massachusetts Bay.

*From some old testimony searched out from the Files of the Essex, Co. Courts by IRA J. PATCH, ESQ., and referring to the Ancient Whale Catching Customs of the Fishers in Cape Cod Bay in 1708, we are inclined to believe that Beverly was engaged in this fishery then, and in all probability Salem also. The testimony, as copied by Mr. Patch, can be seen in the Salem Gazette of Jan. 1, 1858. As whaling, was then an old, long established pursuit in our Bay, Salem may have entered into it, as Boston did, and with a like profit. This is most probably the case.

†Among the English Papers are to be found a few accounts of Capt. Wm. English, (son of Philip,) who in 1709 and 11 is commanding respectively the *sloops* Mary and Arke bound to and from Virginia and Maryland. He carries thither Molasses, Rum, Salt, Cider, Mackerel, Wooden Bowls, Platters, Pails, Kegs, Muscavado Sugar, Cans and Codfish, and is ordered to bring back to Salem, Wheat, Pork, Tobacco, Furs, Hides, Old Pewter, Old Iron, Brass, Copper, Indian Corn, if cheap, and English Goods. In 1712 Wm. English sails for Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in the Mary, with orders to fill up with Molasses, or freight for Salem and Boston. There is a letter extant of this Wm. English to a "Mr. Isaac Knolcott of Suriname," which may have some little commercial information in it, and which rather goes to disprove the modern idea that the liquors the ancient people drank were always of the *purest* description, and therefore very wholesome. In this matter, as in most matters of the past, "Distance lends enchantment to the view."

"Salem, July the 2d, 1713.

Mr. Isaack Knolcott,

Sr: heair is in Closed Bill of Lading & invos for one hogshead of Verey Good Midlin Cod fish shiped you by the Sloop [illegible] Capt. John Shadock command'r whitch I hope will Com Safe to yr hands. I haue not yet sold all your Melasses By Reson yt when it eame a shore it Stunk & was Salt So that Every Body that came to see hitt Sade yt it was put in Either a fish Barrell or Porke or Beef Barrell I have Sent it to ye Stillers to have it Stild [Distilled] into Rum. I shall make ye most of it I eann, & as for Talow [Tal ow] thare is none to Be had. I shall Send you what Remanes yet dew to you By the next opportunity.

I Rest y'rs,
Wm. English."

for Boston and London merchants, and in 1709 Joseph Hardy built the ship American Merchant, of Glascow, in Salem. She was of 160 tons burthen, and he was one of the owners.

From 1714 to 1718 our vessels traded to Madeira, Surinam, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Bilboa, Lisbon, Bristol and London. In 1721 some of our citizens were accused of an irregular trade with Cape Breton, and the Legislature wink at it. Lumber, provisions, and tobacco are carried thither, and wine, brandy, linen, silks and other goods brought back. In 1733 as many as ten vessels bound to or from Barbadoes and Saltatuda, are in the ice in our harbor, and people are employed to cut them out. From ‡1721 to 1740 our trade was to various parts of the West Indies, North Carolina, Maryland, Saltatuda, Oporto, Fayal, Lisbon, Canso, Barbadoes, ‖Bilboa, Gibraltar, Leghorn, Canaries, Jamaica, New Foundland, ¶Leeward Islands, Cadiz, Alicant, Mediterranean, Virginia, St. Martins, Antigua.

The trade of Salem, immediately after its permament settlement, was under the control and auspices of the Home Company. They, however, finding that their joint stock (for the trade was managed by the Company as a Corporation) was sinking in value through the expenses of colonization, viz: purchase and maintenance of ships, supplies, transportation of passengers, colonial expenses, and probably insufficent returns, re-organized their operations, creating two kinds of stock, or else more effectually separating and dividing their old stock. One of these stocks was called the *Joint Stock*, the other the *Common Stock*. The Joint Stock was to be a *trade* stock. This they passed over to the management of Mr. John Winthrop, Governor, and others, as undertakers. These undertakers were to manage this stock for seven years, with certain pecuniary advantages to themselves, run all risks, and, at the end of the seven years, account for the stock and its profits, the same to be divided to every stockholder in proportion to his adventure therein. It was not, therefore, a *sale* of the stock to the undertakers, but only the assumption of its management, on favorable pecuniary terms, by the undertakers, in consideration of their running all the risks. The *common* stock was entirely distinct from the *joint* stock, which was expressly declared by the Company, Feb. 10, 1630. (see Felt's Annals, vol. I. p. 148,) to be "*ordained for the maintenance of the trade.*" At the same date and meeting of the Company, (see Felt's Annals, same vol. same page,) it was determined "*that a common stock should be rayse'd from such as beare good affecon to the plantacon and propagacon thereof, and the same to be employed only in defrayment of publique charges, as maintenance of ministers, transportacon of poore famylyes, building of churches and ffortyfycations, and all other publique and necessary expenses of the plantacon. &c.*" The reason given for the formation of this *Common

‡In 1721, the Collector of the District, which includes Salem and adjacent Sea Ports, states that he clears out 80 vessels on an average every year
Felt's Annals.

‖We have in our possession a few letters of instruction, from Sam'll Browne of Salem, to his Capt. John Touzell, ranging through the years 1728 9, in which Touzell is ordered to deliver his cargo of "Scale Fish, middling Cod, and merchantable Cod" at Bilboa, Spain, and thence get freight for Lisbon or Cadiz, and load with salt at St. Ubes for N. E; or he may take a freight from L. or C. to Ireland, Holland or England, and then go to the Isle of May for salt: or he may sell the Brigantine [Endeavor of sixty tons, plantation built] for £450 or £500, if he can get that for her abroad.

¶1732—Salem has about 30 fishing vessels, much less than formerly, and the same number which go on foreign voyages to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other West India islands; some to the Wine Islands; others carry fish to Spain, Portugal, and the "Streights." —*Felt's Annals, appendix.*

Hutchinson says our Massachusetts trade with the British West Indies was mutually profitable until the peace of Utrecht in 1713. It then began to decline.

*This Common Stock was evidently in furtherance of Plantation purposes (not trade) since every person subscribing to it the sum of £50 was entitled to 200 acres of land, and proportionably for any smaller sum. So it was an emigration measure.

Stock was, that the furtherance of the planta tion would necessarily require a great and continual charge, which could not, with convenience, be defrayed out of the Joint Stock (trade stock) of the Company.

Certain undertakers seem to have been chosen to manage this common stock, perhaps the same as were to manage the trade or joint stock. It is obvious, however, *that the Home Company did not part with their interest in this stock*, since at the same meeting (Feb. 10, 1630,) "*it is further agreed on and ordered, that an order bee drawne vpp and published vnder the seale of the Company, to signifie and declare to what vses all such monyes as are giuen to the common stock shal be employed, and what land shal be allotted to each man that giues therevnto, &c.*" The further facts that Mr. John Winthrop was chosen Governor of the Colony by the Company in London, and their confirmation of 600 acres in the Colony to Brewerton at the same meeting at which they established the common stock of the Com pany, prove that the Home Company did not part with any of their *proprietary* rights in the Colony, when they agreed to transfer the Patent and Government here in 1630. Their joint stock or trade stock had a limit of *seven* years to run in the Colony, and at the risk of the undertakers, but we are unable to find that the *common stock* of the Company was ever limited in any way. To dispose of it, was to dispose of proprietorship, and we see no evidence of such an intention anywhere. It was natural and proper that the government of the Colony should be transferred to the Colony, but the Company in England would have *sold* their proprietorship, if desirous of disposing of it. We see no evidence of such a sale, or the intention of selling. We see clearly that the trade of the Company was self-limited to seven years, and was most probably defunct several years before that period, but when did the proprietor's right of the Home Company cease to have any validity here? The answer is perhaps to be found in the independence of the Colonists here, who managed things, after all, their own way, and partly in the destructive confusion produced by the civil troubles in England. Cradock evidently considered that he had a proprietary right in the Colony, for he left a claim upon it, amounting, in 1648, to nearly £700.

We have devoted a short space to the investigation of this matter, not only for the purpose of arriving at the facts of history, but because we are aware that some are of the belief that the Home Company parted with all their interests, pecuniary and proprietary, in the Colony, to Winthrop and those coming over with him, and to those already here. We see no evidence of it. The Government and Patent were transferred, and the general management, both of government and trade; but we cannot see that right or interests in either were disposed of to the Colonists here. The trade of the company was indeed to expire at a limited period, (seven years), but their interest in the Patent and Government to continue. That it did not continue, can only be explained, now, by a combination of circumstances, permitted by a higher power; in part to free the Colony from a landed monopoly, and give it a wide freedom as the basis of the more glorious Commonwealth.

Practically speaking, however, the Colonial government managed affairs, either of Church or State, from the start, to suit themselves. Many of the early laws, either religious or civil, are evidently the work of the Colonial authorities, spiritual or temporal, and very probably entirely their own. The laws of trade which they passed, often have strong local characteristics, though they may have been for the benefit of the joint stock of the home company and their partners in the Colony. In 1631, no corn, provision or merchantable commodity could be purchased from any ship without the leave of the Governor or an Assistant. In 1634–5 the penalty of confiscation, or the loss of value of the goods, hung over those who bought any commodity, from any vessel coming into the Colony, without a license from the Governor. In 1635 this was repealed. In

1634–5 a committee of merchants are appointed to purchase the cargoes of friendly vessels, store them, and any time within twenty days after the landing of the cargo, and notice given to the several towns, sell them to the inhabitants of the Colony at £5 per cent. profit, and not above. By the preceding section it would seem that the cargo was probably not to be purchased by the undertakers of the *joint stock* of the Company, and if this be so, then Salem begins in 1634–5 to enjoy a comparative freedom from the Home Company. This agrees well with the fact of history that in 1637 the Colonists began to build vessels for trade and fishing. In 1640 their independence was obvious, and the Home Company's trade has entirely disappeared. It was probably dying or extinct in 1635–6. Some of the early and restrictive laws of trade in the Colony may have been, and probably were passed as protective measures, and without much reference to the Home Company, as for instance that of 1634-5, which punished any person who should go on board any ship on arrival without leave of some of the assistants, unless she had laid at anchor twenty-four hours in some inhabited harbor, (nor then unless a friend) *with the confiscation of his estate*, and such further punishment as the General Court should think meet to inflict! Also that of 1635–6, wherein all persons are forbidden to buy any commodity from any ship before the invoice has been given to the Governor or Deputy Governor, nor any provisions without leave, nor to buy any provisions or victuals from such ship to sell again, or †carry from the Colony under pain of a punishment at the discretion of the Court. Both these laws were soon repealed, and were, therefore, we presume, merely local laws to suit some local emergency.

†Even as late as 1662 we see another of those prohibitory laws, so common in the earlier day of Massachusetts. Corn then is so scarce, that its export is forbidden on pain of Confiscation—the law to continue in force until Gen'l Court so order otherwise. Here the alarming scarcity of corn in the Colony was doubtless the controlling cause of the Law.

The weekly Wednesday markets permitted in Salem, commencing in 1634, and the two yearly Fairs granted her by Gen'l Court—the one in May, and the other in September—commencing in 1638, must have done their share in stimulating the internal, and perhaps external trade of S. The Home Company built a bark here in 1629, but then only for their own fishermen—yet evidently a large decked boat—large enough to visit Newfoundland. If the Colony was practically free of the Home Company in 1637, then between that year and 1639 the fisheries and trade perhaps with them took a good start, since in 1639, ship carpenters, which follow their calling, are exempted from training, as also were fishermen and millers under similar circumstances; though they are still to be furnished with arms. These peculiar privileges prove the importance of their unconfined labor to the Colony at that time. In 1641 the Gen'l Court are fully aroused to the importance of perfecting shipbuilding, which it calls "a business of great importance for the public good, and therefore suitable care is to be taken that it be well performed," and makes it lawful for the owners to appoint and put in some suitable workman, as is usual in England, to survey the work and workmen, giving him such power and liberty as belongs to his office, and, in case of disagreement between him and the ship carpenters, provides for the selection of two impartial ship carpenters as referees, who shall decide the matter and have power to remedy the complaint, and their charges or fees are to be paid by the party at fault.

In 1642 Salem is the second commercial town of the Colony. She pays £75 taxes, and Boston £120. The order of 1644 in reference to ship-building evidently applies forcibly to her, as well as some other places—in which order the Gen'l Court offer to incorporate a Company of ship-builders to regulate building of ships, and make such laws and orders among themselves as may conduce to the public good:—(and thus make a Guild or

Company resembling those in the old world) In 1645, a Canary Island ship, the Gilbert, is in Boston—with wines—and it is not unlikely that the Wine Island vessels may have visited Salem as early. In 1646 wharfage regulations are ordered by Gen'l Court for wharves in Boston and Charlestown ; and Salem, as next in commercial importance to Boston, may have had wharves thus early. In 1645 or earlier, there appears to have been trouble between foreign vessels in our harbors (perhaps in Salem) and (Sea ?) fights took place between them. The General Court discourage this by ordering that no ships in our harbors shall fight any other ships during the time of their abode here.

The Fisheries and Home Manufactures were always carefully watched over by the Colonial authorities. In order that raw-hides and unwrought leather should not be exported, the General Court prohibited their transportation from the colony in 1646 on pain of confiscation, or the value thereof, unless first imported into the Colony as Merchandize. The Fishermen were early protected by law, and granted various privileges, and in 1663 were empowered to use wood from any common lands for fish flakes and stages—the English fishermen possessing still greater privileges—being allowed to enter on to private lands for the purpose, paying a reasonable sum, however, for damages It was trespass in our fishermen to do this, but the English fishermen were considered to have their privileges under the charter. The Colonists did not like such an exercise of their claims, but from policy perhaps forebore to deprive them of them.

In 1645, the whole Colony was in a prosperous state, and Salem of course with it. When the Navigation laws were passed, Salem, as well as the Colony evaded their application for a while, professing that they did not apply to them, since they were under the Charter, and not the Parliament. Cromwell seems never to have urged the *Laws of Trade pertinaciously as against the Colony, though in favor of them. When Charles the 2d came in, however, his ministers were determined, as well as the King himself, that Massachusetts should be curtailed in her commercial freedom. The Colonial Authorities saw this, and the Gen'l Court in 1661 repeal the law allowing friendly ships to trade freely in our harbors. As they

began prior to the reign of Henry 7th. During his reign (in 1485,) and the reign of Elizabeth, (in 1562, and again in 1593,) acts were passed favoring English Commerce at the expense of foreign, and for the benefit especially of the Royal Navy—to build it up. During the reign of Charles the 1s , these laws had been evaded, or were relaxed, and it was found necessary to revise and confirm them. When the Republicans triumphed in England, they passed a somewhat rough act in 1650, prohibiting all ships of foreign nations from trading with any English plantations without license from the Council of State.—In 1651 they passed a *Navigation Act*, levelled in part against the sugar islands, which still adhered to the King, and partly against the Dutch, who then were the principal carriers of Europe, and whose ships were employed by English merchants to bring merchandize from America and the West Indies into England, in spite of former unrepealed laws, and at a lower rate of freight than native ships. This law enacted that no commodities (colonial or of any other description) should be imported into England, unless in vessels solely owned, and commanded, and principally manned by English subjects, and where the commodities were foreign, unless entirely conveyed in such vessels from the place where the commodities grew, or to which they were usually in the first instance transported by sea. By this the Dutch were cut off from the carrying trade of the Colonies, and their importation of fish into England laid under great restriction and heavy burdens.

This act, moreover, did not permit any but English subjects to be factors or agents in the English Colonies. Before that time, the principal factors or agents in those Colonies were Dutch.

At the restoration, Charles the 2d and his Parliament sustained substantially these laws by statutes in 1660 and in 1662—the first being known as the famous *Navigation Act*. The Mass. Colonists had not obeyed the laws of 1650-1, nor those of the earlier date, which were not repealed, and struggled against the Navigation Act and kindred laws until their final separation from England.

*The laws of trade, or navigation laws of England,

send at the same time a very humble loyal address to the King, it is most likely that their reason was a desire to conciliate Charles, yielding only what they were forced to yield, and to save other privileges, or perhaps for form's sake. The object of the Trade and Navigation laws and policy of England was to make England the Magazine of Colonial Trade, drive off the Dutch, and compel her own shipping, especially the Colonial, to seek her own markets, pay her the legal duties, and to drive off all foreign freighting vessels whatsoever, when in competition with her own shipping. The N E Colonists had enjoyed a comparative free trade under Charles the 1st, and Cromwell, and had thriven greatly by it, and saw and felt its advantages. They were unwilling to come under the Laws of England in matters of trade, and evaded them in every way they could. When the Commissioners of Charles the 2d came over here in 1665, backed by three Frigates, as a hint of the power of the Mother Country, the Colonists paid them all ostensible deference, and worked against them in secret. The independence of Massachusetts was well known in England, and the *King hated the name of Commonwealth even in the Law Book of the Colony, and her contempt of Episcopacy openly expressed therein. Both these things he desired should be swept away. They were a sore reminiscence to him, for they reminded him of the Commonwealth at home. His Commissioners demanded also, among other things, that all Masters of vessels, and Captains of Companies should carry the *true* †colors of England, by which they

*The King (Charles the 2d,) was much incensed against Massachusetts at the first, and told Sir Thos. Temple, Gov. of Nova Scotia, (brother to Sir William,) that, among other things, the Colonists had invaded the royal prerogative by coining money. Temple, who had returned from America, and had seen the urgent reasons which had induced the Colony to take that step—the scarcity of money here, and the difficulty of procuring it from England during the civil troubles there—stated these to the King in extenuation, and showed him some of the Pine Tree Money. "What is that," asked the King, pointing to the Pine Tree, which the artist had made bushy and broad like the Italian Pine. "That is the Royal Oak," answered Temple; "the tree which sheltered your Majesty." Charles being highly pleased at this proof of loyalty, and in great and condescending good humor, exclaimed, "Honest Dogs!" He appears in 1665 to have thought otherwise, but the date of Temple's visit is not given. It may have been after the Commissioners' return.—Felt, however, in his History of Mass. Currency, puts the date of Temple's visit to the King as in 1662 Before Charles died, he evidently thought the Colonists were a set of "dishonest dogs." The mint was finally closed, about 1686, say, though stated by one authority to be in existence in 1706. Felt evidently is the better authority on this point, and he gives about 1686 as the date.

Massachusetts was early and long suspected in England of aiming at Independence, but her progress thitherward seems to have been in the main a reasonable and somewhat unconscious one. As early as 1639, George Burdet, who had been an assistant of Rev. Hugh Peters, privately tells Laud, and others of Lord Comm'rs. that the Colonists were aiming more at civil independence, than reformation in ecclesiastical matters. See Felt's memoir of Hugh Peters, in the 5th vol. Mass. Hist. and Gen. Register.

It seems but fair to say that the civil independence of Massachusetts was the natural result of the religious independence she assumed and maintained from the first.

†In 1629 the English Ensign appears to be the flag of the Massachusetts Colony. In 1634, part of the red cross had been taken out. In 1635 the Gen. Court came to a reluctant conclusion to admonish Endecott for cutting it out, which, it appears, he was somewhat instigated to do, and in the belief that it was an idolatrous sign—a belief then held by not a few of the Colonists The English ensign seems then to have been laid aside, and as in 1636 the national flag was unfurled at the Castle in Boston Harbor, *under the protestations of the magistrates*, granting that liberty to various ship masters going from that port, we can readily see that the English ensign was no favorite in the Colony. The reason then given by the magistrates for their protest, was, that they held the cross in the ensign to be idolatrous.

From 1651 to the close of the Commonwealth in England, Massachusetts may have adopted the "old

might be known to be his majesty's legitimate subjects. It was evident by this that the Colonists had a flag by land and sea, which was not of the royal pattern. They demanded that the law which the General Court had passed against the Act of Navigation of England should be repealed, and that the coining of money should cease, as being a Royal prerogative. The Commissioners, moreover, charge upon the colonists, as from the King that "*our subjects there doe not submit to our Government, but look at themselves as independent on (of) us.*" These Commissioners gave much trouble, and failed in their efforts.

In 1667, the General Court order the Navigation Laws to be obeyed, but this legal and formal submission was a hollow and really profitless one, and so intended, for in 1673 Wayborne, and in 1676, Randolph, inform the English Government that the Laws of Trade are not observed in Massachusetts,—in fact are virtually inoperative—all nations trading here without restraint. The Magistrates told Wayborne, that they, as Vice-Admirals of His Majesty, in these seas, should do as seemed good to them. Still these laws must have troubled our merchants. In 1663 the General Court appointed, for appearance's sake, Hilliard Veren to be an officer for the ports of Salem, Marblehead and Gloucester, to see that the Navigation Act of Parliament be enforced. He accepted the office, and avoided its ‡duties. The Royal Commissioners had failed in their attempts to practically enforce the act. Cromwell himself had not been more successful, though he in secret, perhaps, favored the Colonists. Still his attempts to induce the New Englanders to remove to Ireland and afterwards to Jamaica, are capable of two different constructions. At all events, our Massachusetts people and rulers united in mistrusting England, her Rulers and her Laws, and obeyed them only under compulsion.

English colors," viz: the Cross of St. George, used by the Parliament, though the General Court, when adopting them in 1651, strongly desired an alteration of them. As the King's Commissioners, in 1665 desire the Colonists to raise the *true* flag of England, both on their ships and in their companies, it would appear that Massachusetts had adopted another flag than that even of the Parliament; for our authorities were too politic to have worn the colors of the late English Commonwealth before the eyes of the King's Commissioners, especially while disputing with them; and it is in evidence, that though they adopted the Parliamentary flag in 1651, yet they then much desired an alteration in it, perhaps on some scruple of conscience. Up to 1686, and under the tyrannical reign of Andros, the flag of New England only approximates to the Flag of England. The ensign which Cromwell adopted, was, we believe, the simple Cross of St. George, and which appears on the coin of the Commonwealth. The Colonists did not like the Cross, but may have continued it, *with additions of their own.* It is evident that they did not follow Cromwell or the Commonwealth blindly in *any* matter. They were unwilling to war with their Dutch neighbors at his command, declined to obey his laws of trade, kept aloof from his monied policy, and refused his offers either as to Jamaica or Ireland.

‡ One of his duties was to seize ships or vessels prohibited by that act from trading here. It evidently was not done, though Salem, as the second (or third) commercial town in the Colony, must have violated the law. It was generally violated in Massachusetts. Still the Colonists were troubled by the law, as putting them in a false commercial position.

To be Continued.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 52.

Andrew Creek, Sept., 1658.

Inventory of estate of Andrew Creek, apprized by Francis Peabody and Robert Andrews of Topsfield, the 17th Sept., 1658, amounting to £17 17s 4d.

List of debts owed by said Creek when he died, amounting to £19 16s 2d.

Returned by Dan'l Clark, 29th 7th mo., 1658.

John Wright, Mar., 1659.

Administration of estate of John Wright of

Newbury, granted to Edward Bragg 30th 10th mo., 1658, and an inventory returned by Thomas Bishop and Robert Kinsman.

Benj'n Montjoy. 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of the estate of Benj'n Montjoy, amounting to £19 2s 5d, returned by Wm. Clarke and Joseph Dolliver; administration granted to his wife, 28th 4th mo., 1659.

Jno. Woodice, 4th mo., 1659.

Will of John Woodis of Salem, dated 24th 3d mo., 1659, mentions Sam'l Very and Alice his wife, dau of said Woodis, Sam'l, Elizabeth, Sarah, Thomas and John Very, children of Sam'l and Alice; Emma Muse. Appts son in law, Sam'l Very, ex'r, Thomas Antrum and Thomas Flint, witnesses. proved 29th 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of above estate, amounting to £69 5s 0d, taken 10th 4th mo., 1659, by Thomas James, Thomas Flint and Thomas Anthrum.

John Leach, 4th mo, 1659.

The testimony of Eliz'h Boxton and Mary Felton, as to Mr. John Leach, senior, speech about the disposing of his estate. They say, "we, whose names ar vnderwritten, beinge both in one roome, about half a yeare before the decease of sd John Leach, senior, the sayd John Leach commynge in from worke he sayd vnto vs, he was so sicke he thought he should haue fallen downe dead at his worke, and he did feare that he might at one tyme or other dye suddenly: therfore he did desire of vs both (that if in case it should so fall out.) to be witnesses that all that he had he gaue vnto John Leach; and at another tyme, hauinge further conference about the disposinge of his estate vnto the sayd John Leach, we told him there were seueral John Leeches; he should doe —— not to expresse wch of them. he sayd to John Leach, the son of Rich'd Leach, sayinge further that he had was but litle; if he should deuide it it would come to but litle."

Inventory of above estate taken 20th 10th mo., 1658, by Dan'l Rea and Henry Cooke, amounting to £37 3s 0d.

List of debts amount to £3 10s 8d.

Wm Jiggles 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of estate of Wm Jiggles, taken 26th 3d mo,, 1659, by John Browne, John Gardner, Edmund Batter, amount £148 3 of the children mar'd in time long since, the other abroad at sea, the eldest son in England, a master of ship.

Returned by Eliz'h, widow of dec'd, 28th 4th mo., '59.

Hugh Laskins, 4th mo., 1659.

Inventory of estate of Hugh Laskins of Salem, taken 21st mar., 1658-9, amounting to £50 2s 10d, returned by John Marston and Samuel Pickman.

Seeth. wife of Joshua Conant, 9th mo., 1659.

Inventory of estate of Seeth Conant, wife of the late deceased Joshua Conant, taken 28th 3d mo., 1659, amounting to £32 6s 0d, returned by John Brown and Richard Prince.

Geo. Norton, 9th mo., 1659.

Inventory of George Norton of Salem, taken 22d 7th mo, 1659, amounting to £134 11s 6d, returned by John Powlew, Jacob Barney.

Freegrace and John Norton, eldest sons of abovesaid George Norton, offer and petition to the Court to allow and confirm the offer to give up their portion of their father, George Norton's estate to their mother, Maria Norton, for her sole use during her widowhood, and if the Court will make division and see what the shares of their brothers and sisters are, they will pay them their shares that their mother may have the whole.

Ages of George Norton's children:—Freegrace Norton, 24 years; John Norton, 22 years; Nathanell, 20 years; George Norton, 18 years; Mary, 16; Mehitable, 14; Sarah, 12; Hannah, 10; Abigail, 8; Elizabeth, 5.

James Moore, 9th mo., 1659.

Will of James Moore of Hammersmith, dat-

ed 5th 5th mo., 1659. mentions little daughter Dorothy, wife Ruth Moore appts Oliver Purchis and John Clarke to be overseers. Joseph Jenks, sen'r and Joseph Jenks, junior, witnesses.

Inven ory of above estate, amounting to £56 8s 0d, returned by Joseph Jenks and John Hathorne.

Sam'l Porter, 9th mo, 1659.

Will of Sam'l Porter, dated 10th 12th mo., 1658, being bound for the Barbadoes.

Wife Hannah ½ of his farm, son John the other half of his farm at Wenham; after the death of his wife the other half to return to his son. Father Porter and father-in-law Wm Dodge, and Edmond Batter to be overseers Witnesses, Edm'd Batter and Sara Batter. proved 28th 4th mo., '60.

Inventory of above estate, taken 22d 4th mo., 1660, amounting to £331 19s 0d, returned by Roger Conant and John Rayment.

Edward Brown, Mar 1660.

Will of Edward Brown of Ipswich, dated 9th Feb., 1659, mentions 3 acres, a gift given to his son Thomas by his aunt Watson in Old England, said Thomas being dead he accounts his son Joseph to be his heir, Joseph to have his 8 acres in the common land which he bought of his brother Bartholomew; wife, Faith Browne, son John Browne, his wife sole ex'tx. Witnesses, Robert and Thomas Lord. proved 27th 1st mo., 1660.

Inventory of above estate, taken 20th Feb., 1659 amounting to £225 5s 7d: debts due from the estate, £24 8s 1d; returned by Moses Pingry and Robert Lord, 27th 1st mo., 1660.

John Clements, May 1660.

Consent of Job Clements that his Brother, Robert Clements, shall be satisfied for his voyage to England on his Brother, John Clement's ac't out of the estate of his brother John 1st mo., 26th day, 1660.

Jane James, June, 1660.

Inventory of estate of Jane James, widow of Erasmus James, dec'd, amounting to £86 1s 9d, returned by Francis Johnson and Moses Maverick. The land in Marblehead, with the house in wch the deceased lived and dwelt in being in controversy between Erasmus James junior, and Richard Read, wch we know not whose it is, but being desired by sd Erasmus James to apprise it, the appraisers valued it at £40.

List of debts due by Erasmus James when he died, £19 14s 10d, allowed 26th June, 1660.

Wm Golt, 4th mo., 1660.

Inventory of estate of William Golt of Salem, taken 21st April, 1660, amounting to £49 0s 0d. List of debts, £22 02s 0d, returned by Jeffrey Massey and John Kitchen.

Children :—Rebecca, 19 years; Debora, 15 years; Sara, 13 years.

Ed. Norris, 4th mo., 1660.

Will of Edward Norris of Salem, minister, and teacher of the Church of Christ, dated in Salem, 9th 10th mo., (Dec.) 1657. Son Edward Norris; John Horne and Richard Prince, deacons of the church in Salem. Witnesses, Walter Price and Elias Stileman. Proved 27th 4th mo., 1660.

John Bradstreet, June, 1660.

An inventory of estate of John Bradstreet of Mablehead, taken 14th 4th mo, 1660, by John Bartoll, Joseph Dolliver, amounting to £102 19s 0d, returned 26th 4th mo., '60.

Joshua Conant, 4th mo., 1660.

List of charges due to Mr. Joseph Gardner, from the estate of Joshua Conant, amounting to £35 7s 11d, and testimony of Hugh Janes and Jane Coffin, wife of Robert, concerning it, 20th 4th mo., 1660.

Lawrence Southwick, 4th mo., 1660.

The testimony of Wm. Robinson and Thom-

as Gardner, that John and Daniel Southwick have made a very fair agreement about the dividing of their father's estate.

Wm. Paine, Nov., 1660.

Copy of inventory of estate of Wm. Paine of Boston, merchant, taken 22d 8th mo., 1660, by Hen. Shrimpton, Joshua Scottow, and John Richards, amounting to £4239. 11s 5d, returned by John Paine, his son, Nov. 14, 1660.

Edm'd Nicholson, Nov., 1660.

Inventory of estate of Edmond Nicholson of Marblehead, taken 22d 9th mo., 1660, by Moses Maverick, Wm Nicke, John Legg, amounting to £150 0s 6d. 28th Nov. 1660. Elizabeth, relict of the deceased, app'd, and sworne to the truth of the inventory. List of debts. £54. 4s 0d

Children :—Christopher, 22 yrs.; Joseph, 20; Samuel, 16; Jonn, 14; Elizabeth, 11; Thomas, 7.

Chris. Codnor, 9th mo., 1660.

Inventory of Christopher Codnor, amounting to £252 0s 9d. Children—Mary, 5 yrs., Christopher 3 yrs.

Lawrence Southwick, 9th mo., 1660.

Will of "Lawrence Sethick, late of Salem, in New England, now being at the house of Nathaniell Sylvester, on Shelter Island," dated 10th 5th mo , 1659. son Daniel, John Burnell, Josiah Southwick, daughter Provided, son John, Samuel Burtai, Henry Traske, Mary his dau., and wife of Henry Traske, Debo rah Southwick and young Josiah. Ann Potter, Mary, Sarah and Hannah, daus. of Henry Traske, Sam'l and Sarah, John Southwick's children. Wm. Robinson and Thos. Gardiner to be overseers of his will. Witness, Nath'l Sylvester, Thomas Harris and Wm. Durand. proved 29th 9th mo , 1660.

Inventory of above estate, taken by Wm Robinson and Thomas Gardner, amounting to £196 0s 0d, returned 29th 9th mo., '60.

Evan Thomas, Philip Kertland, 4th mo., 1661.

"A Inventory of the moveable estate wch Evan Thomas hath and doth enjoy with and by Alice his now wife; taken before marriage," amounting to £160 14s 1d. returned by Alice Thomas, late wife of Philip Kertland, 26th June, 1661.

Testimony of John Kertland, aged about 52 years, says, "I often hard my brother, Phillip Kyrtland, say oftimes that his wife shoulald haue all that hee had to dispose of, so long as she liue, and to my best remembranc, hee gaue £15 to his dafter Mary, and ten pounds to his dafter Sara, and ten pounds to his dafter Susanna, and ten pounds to his dafter Hanna,—this to bee giuen to them at ye day of marriag, the land not to be sould so long as she liues." 17th 5th mo., 1659.

William Hacher of Lynn, aged 65 or thereabouts, testified that when Philip Kertland was going to see, he told him, in substance, as above.

Roger Tucker, 4th mo., 1661.

Inventory of Roger Tucker taken 25th June, 1661, by Francis Johnson and Moses Maverick, returned by Mr. George Corwin, 28th 4th mo., 1661, amounting to £9 14s 0d.

Jas. Smith, 4th mo., 1661.

Will of James Smith of Marblehead, dated 9th 9ber, 1660. Wife Mary, gives her all that my farm, called Castle Hill, with 10 acres in the South field bought of Joseph Grafton, son James Smith, son in law Richard Rowland, James, eidest son of his son James, daughter Kathren Eborne, grandchild, Mary Eborne, and other 5 children of his daughter Eborne, daughter Mary Rowland, grandchild Sam'l Rowland, and other 3 children of his daughter Rowland, appoints his wife sole ex'tx, appoints Maj. Wm. Hathorne and his son, Samuel Eborne, to be overseers.

Proved 27th 4th mo., '61.

Inventory of above estate, taken 25th June, 1661, by Francis Johnson, Moses Maverick,

amounting to £492 1s 0d, returned 27th 4th mo, '61.

John Sibley, 4*th mo.*, 1661.

Inventory of estate of John Sibley, taken 24th June, 1661, by Wm. Allen, Pasco Foote and Robert Leach, amounting to £69 10s 0d, returned by Rachel, the widow, who is appt'd adm'x, and it is ordered that all the estate be left with the widow for the bringing up of the children, till further order of the Court.

He left a widow and 9 children, 4 boys and 5 girls; eldest daughter, 19 years, next about 17, the third, 15. fourth is a son about 12 years.

Benj. Bulflower, 4*th mo.*, 1661.

Inventory of estate of Benjamin Belflower, deceased February 24th, 1660, taken Mar. 16, 1661, by Robert Moulton and Henry Phelps, amounting to £19 5s 0d. debts, £13.

Rich'd Browne, 4*th mo.*, 1661.

Will of Rich'd Browne of Newbury, men. son Joshua a minor, sons Richard, Edmund, under 21, daughters Elizabeth Sarah and Mary, unmarried, and under age, wife to be sole ex'tx. Son Joseph deceased, Brother George deceased. appts Ric'd Kent, Nich's Noyes Robert Long and Joseph Noyes, overseers. Witnesses. Tristram Coffin, Joseph Noyes, James Noyes, Moses Noyes. proved June 24, 1661.

Thos. Seers, 4*th mo.*, 1661.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Seers of Newbury, who deceased the 16th day of May, 1661, taken by Wm. Moody, Rob Coker and Anthony Somerby, amounting to £93 0s 0d. debts allowed, £13 4s 26th 9th mo., 1660.

Isabel Babson, 4*th mo.*, 1661.

Inventory of estate of Isabel Babson of Gloster, taken April 9, 1661, by Sam'l Dollaber, Philip Stamwood, amounting to £27 6s, returned by James Babson.

Wm. Witter, 4*th mo*, 1661.

Will of Wm. Witter, dated 1659, 5th 6th mo., wife Annis, son Josiah, Robert Burdin and Hannah his wife dau of Wm Witter, wife, ex'or. Witnesses, Robert Driver, Wm. Hacker, proved.

Inventory of above estate taken 1659, 15th 9th mo., by Robert Driver, Wm Hacker and Francis Ingalls, amounting to £132 11s 0d, returned by Anis Witter, 23d 4th mo, 1661.

Wm. Lamson, 9*th mo*, 1661.

Wm. Lamson of Ipswich dying intestate, adminis't'n granted to his widow, Sarah Lamson, and an Inventory is presented, amounting to £111 10s 2d; she is ordered by the Court to pay to the present children, 8 in number, as follows, viz: to the eldest, £12. and the rest £6 apiece. At a Court held at Ipswich, 29th March, 1659.

Petition of John Ayres and Wm Fellows, in relation to their brother's, Wm Lamson's estate, mentions their sister, Sarah Lamson, widow of Wm., and said Sarah being about to change her estate to one Thomas Hartshorne of Reading, and said Thomas agreed to give her the liberty to dispose of her share of her husband, Wm. Lamson's estate as she chose, and now refuses it. They petition that the Court take order in the premises.

Wm. Cockerell, 9*th mo.*, 1661.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Cockrell, taken 6th Dec, 1661, by John Brown, Edmund Bat'er, 11th 10th mo., 1661, amounting to £81 15s 0d.

Jno. Humphries, 9*th mo.*, 1661.

Inventory of estate of John Humphrey, deceased 13th 10th mo., 1661, taken by Edmond Batter and Joseph Humphreys, amounting to £60, allowed, and Mr. Batter and Jos. Humphrey app'td adm'rs.

Hugh Burt, 9*th mo.*, 1661.

Will of Hugh Burt of Lynn, dated 7th 9e-

tober, 1661. mentions son Wm Bassett, two grand daughters, Mary and Sarah, children of his son Hugh Burt, deceased, son Edward Burtt, appts his wife extx. Nath'l Standforde and Andrew Mansfield to be overseers, gives to his son Edward all interest he has in any land &c. in London, that came to him by his brother John Burt deceased. proved 26th 9th mo., 1661.

Hugh Burtt died 21 November, 1661 Inventory of above estate taken 13th November, 1661, by Nath'l Standford, John Deakin and Andrew Mansfield, amounting to £143 4s 9d, returned 26th 9th mo., '61.

Arzbell Anderson. 9th mo., 61.

"An Inventory of ye estate of Arzbell Anderson, Scotsman, whoe deceased at ye Ironworks at Lyn ye thirteenth day of ye sixt month, 1661," taken 15th 6th mo., 1661, by Edward Baker, John Divan, Oliver Purchis, all of Lynn, amounting to £54 18s 5½d, returned 12th 10th mo., 1661.

Account of debts paid by Oliver Purchis, which were due from above estate, amounting to £11 3s 9d, returned to Court 25th 9th mo., 1662

Deposition of Allister Mackmallen, about 30 years, to prove that Allister Graim was near of kin to Arzbell Anderson above.

Sworne in Court 12th 12th mo., 1661.

Wm. Oderie, 10*th mo.*, 1661.

Inventory of estate of Wm. Oderie deceased the last of December, 1660, taken by Walter Price and Elias Mason, amounting to £41 5s 11d, returned by George Corwin and Edmund Batter, 12th 10th mo., '61.

Wm. Hacker, 1*st mo.*, 1662.

Inventory of estate of William Hacker, taken 26th December, 1661, by Thomas Marshall, Francis Ingalls and Henry Collins, amounting to £184 12s 11d, returned 28th Mar , 1662.

Rich'd Brown. 1st mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Rich'd Brown of Newbury, who departed this life April, 26th, 1661. taken June 5, 1661, by Richard Knight Anthony Somerby and Stephen Greenleaf, amounting to £634 3s 0d. list of debts due from the estate. £31 15s 0d, returned by Eliz'h, the widow and ex'tx., 25th Mar., 1662.

John Dorman. 1st mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of John Dorman of Topsfield, taken 12th Feb , 1661, b Francis Peabody and Samuel Brocklebank, amounting to £46 1s 0d, returned 25th Mar , 1662.

Ann Lume, Apr., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Ann Lume, taken 16th April, 1662. by Maximillion Jewett and Sam'l Brocklebanks, amounting to £49 2s 6d, returned 17th April, 1662.

Dan'l Rea, 4*th mo* , 1662.

Agreement as to settlement of estate of Dan'l Rea of Salem. he son Joshua to have his farm and when Dan'l son of Joshua is of age he is to have half of the farm. daughters Rebecca and Sarah under sixteen years, son Thomas Lothrop and his wife, his wife living.

Allowed and confirmed 26th 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate, taken by John Porter and Jacob Barney, amounting to £239 19s 4d, returned 26th 4th mo., 1662.

John Stevens. 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of John Stevens of Andover, taken Apr. 28, '62 by George Abbott Richard Barker Nathan Parker and Nicholas Noyes amount £463 4s 0d. returned by Elizabeth the widow 24th 4mo 1662.

An inventory of what was given by John Stevens to his eldest son John and his receipt and acceptance of the same.

To be Continued.

CURIOUS BILL LADING OF A "WHIGHTT HORS"—1699.—Shipped by the grace of God, in good order and well conditioned, by Wm. Pickering, in and upon the good Ketch, called the Lam, whereof is master under God, for this present voyage, George Cox, and riding at Anchor in the harbour of Salem, and by God's grace bound for Antege, in ye West India, to say—One Whightt Hors & too new water hogsetts, for ye proper Acco'tt of ye above sd Wm. Pickering—being marked and numbered as in the Margent, and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Antege—(the danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Mr George Cox, master of ye above said Ketch, or to his Assigns, he or they paying freight for the said Goods, five pounds, at ye landing of ye above sd horse att Antege alive—with Primage and Average accustomed. In witness whereof the master and Purser of said Ship hath affirmed to to Bills of Lading all of this tenor and date; the one of which too Bills being accomplished the other to stand void And so God send the good Ship to her destined Port in safety, Amen.

Whightt Hors with wall eye W P—too hhd. p. 1, 2.

Dated in Salem, January ye 12, 1699–1700, mortality excepted.

pr GEORGE COX, jun'r.

THE "OLD PLANTERS" OF SALEM, WHO WERE SETTLED HERE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ENDICOTT, IN 1628.

BY GEORGE D. PHIPPEN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, March 25, 1858.

When we look backward from the present hour, which bears upon its surface the multitudinous burden of unfinished purposes, to the sealed record of the past, all, at the first glance, seems impenetrable, or shadowy and unreal.

At such moments we should remember that time is but one progressive present,—day succeeding day;—that from the beginning the green earth has always been bathed in light—rosy morning has always ushered in the day, and the hill tops reflected the rays of the setting sun—children young and blooming, and gray-haired sires have always walked hand in hand together—the bride has continually arrayed herself for the wedding, and the hearthstone has been continually re-laid, and as continually the sighing and trusting have departed in the way of their fathers. Strong hands and willing hearts have ever responded to duty—the rights of man have ever found champions, and the Lord, who divides the sun and the rain with all his creatures, has ever found worshippers. Thus at last, time with its unresisting progress has placed us for a brief period upon the scene of action.

Notwithstanding the mutability of all things, important facts and dates, like guide-posts in the traveller's path, direct us in the course of investigation, which perseverance shall combine into a consistent whole and imagination illumine as with the sunlight of present reality; thus may the old homes of our primitive fathers be pointed out and repeopled with their original inhabitants, and we become united with them, as we truly are, and participate in their perils and their joys—perils from the fear of savages, the rudeness of the elements, and the pressure of want:—partake also of their zeal in the pursuit of freedom and holiness—rejoice in their hopeful success, which ultimately conducts us to the abiding triumph of their foresight and perseverance, a shadow of which they could scarcely have anticipated: and we hereby learn why we are gathering a harvest we sowed not, and which ripens perpetually above their graves.

We design to give an account of the first permanent settlement upon the soil of Massachusetts,—its very germ, that first struck its feeble root into the scanty soil at Cape Anne, and that was soon after transplanted to the more prolific banks of the Naumkeag River,—and of the few resolute spirits who resisted the depression of disappointment, and the wavering of their companions, and remained the small, but living nucleus, which soon received powerful assistance from the mother country, and which has finally increased, and expanded into a populous and influential commonwealth, destined to last as long as her granite hills.

We will first devote a page to a few events,

covering a wide period which preceded and led to this settlement.

About one third of all the time that has elapsed since the discovery of America, had passed, before colonies became permanently established upon our coast. Let it suffice to make but a passing allusion to the voyages of the Cabots, and the illustrious Knights and half brothers Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who rank among the fathers of the commerce of England; and of their abortive attempts at colonizing the Indias of the West.

The first permanent settlement upon the American coast, then generally called Virginia, resulted from the exertions of these maritime brothers, and the kindred families of Sir John Popham, and Sir Fernando Gorges.

King James's Charter, under the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the city of London, for the first colony of Virginia," was granted in 1606; which provided for two councils of control, one for Northern and the other for Southern Virginia. Differences which it is unnecessary to explain here, soon arose between the two boards, which was happily turned to the advantage of the North Colony, by the exertions of "Sir Fernando Gorges, and certain of the principal knights and gentlemen-adventurers," who represented to the King that the region lying between the 40th and 48th degrees of North Latitude had been recently nearly depopulated of its savage inhabitants by a wonderful plague. (This occurred in 1617,) and that no Christian power laid any claim to it.

The King "desirous of enlarging his dominions, and extending the Christian name," granted Gorges and his party a patent to that vast territory lying between these parallels, and extending from sea to sea—from the Atlantic on the east, to a sea on the west, the distance of which the King probably had not the faintest conception. This patent bore the title of "The Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devonshire, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America." It was passed on the 3d of November, 1620, and sealed with the great seal of England, July 3d, 1621,—and this patent remained "the civil basis of all the patents and plantations that subsequently divided the country."

This was an age of prerogative and one of the provisions of the charter, contemplated the division of the land into Counties, to be apportioned among the Patentees, which might be again divided by these County Lords into Baronies, Hundreds and Towns.

A map published in 1624, by Capt. John Smith, drawn, as he says, by himself, as he passed along the shore in a little boat, gives a plan of the territory, thus divided into twenty parts, and apportioned to the patentees as appears by lot. The King favored this division, whereby each one of the company became Lord proprietor of his portion and vested with an absolute title and powers of government.—Under this prerogative the Right Hon. Edmond, Lord Sheffield, Knight of the most noble order of the garter, a leading statesman of England, who held one of the twenty divisions issued on the "Throne part" on the 1st January, 1623-4, a charter to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow, [who will be recognised as the agents of the Colony at London and New Plymouth] and their assistants and planters at Plymouth in New England on the other part of "a certain tract of land lying in 43d degree of North Latitude, in a known place there commonly called Cape Anne, with the bay, islands, &c., in the neighborhood; with liberty to fish, fowl, hawk, hunt, truck, trade in the land thereabout, and all other places in New England,"—with liberty also to make and establish Laws, Ordinances, and Constitutions, for their government, and with power to resist encroachment by force of arms.

Five hundred acres of this land were to be set apart for public uses,—such as the building of churches, schools, &c., and for the maintenance of their ministers, and magistrates. Thirty acres of land were to be allow-

ed each individual upon certain conditions, who should settle there.

This Charter has been recently found by J Wingate Thornton, Esq., and a fac simile of it published in his recent work, entitled "the Landing at Cape Ann," to which we are much indebted.

At the time of issuing this Charter, the Pilgrims at Plymouth had been settled three years As an ecclesiastic body they were called Separatists, yet there had come among them some persons, who though equally desirous of a reformation of the abuses of the established Church, and who esteemed it no reproach to be called Puritans, were not prepared entirely to sever themselves from the English Church, or relinquish the Episcopal form of worship, to which they had been accustomed from their childhood. And they could exclaim as did our own Higginson, a few years later:—when passing Land's End, he called his children and other passengers into the stern of the ship, and as his eyes gazed for the last time upon his native land, he said : "We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate ourselves from the corruptions of it ; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America," - and so he concluded with a fervent prayer for the King, and the Church, and State in England, &c.

These persons, few in number, attached themselves to Rev John Lyford, an Episcopal minister, who had probably arrived in the spring of 1624, about the time of the return of Winslow, with the Cape Anne Charter, and perhaps in the same ship. This minister, with his Episcopal determinations, soon made himself so obnoxious to the Pilgrims, as to be expelled the Colony, together with John Oldham, an Indian trader. They fled to Nantasket, about twenty five miles up the bay, to the westward, (now Hull,) near the entrance to Boston Harbor, and were voluntarily followed by a few other disaffected persons and their families. Here they took up their abode at a temporary habitation that Captain Standish had erected there, a year or two before, for purposes of Indian trade.

Prominent among these persons was Roger Conant, afterward of Salem, "a pious, sober, and prudent gentleman,"* as his character for life shows him to have been.

Here for the present, we leave them in their dreary abode, but in the enjoyment of their favorite form of worship.

The fame of the success of the Colony at New Plymouth, soon spread over England, particularly through the western counties, occasioned by accounts borne thither by Captain Smith and other navigators, the correspondence of the Pilgrims, and largely by Edward Winslow, who returned to London in the fall of 1623, and the publication of his "Good news from New England," the year following.

Their success fired not only the zeal of the champions of religion and humanity, but fed also the desire for gain in the brain of the merchant, and warmed the breasts of the young, the venturesome and the hopeful towards further colonizing upon the pleasant bays and harbors of New England ; which spread out their borders enticingly before the eyes of the land-loving Englishman. Illimitable forests that never rang with the blows of the woodman's axe,—pastures large enough for thousands of flocks, and a soil rich with the accumulation of ages, awaited inhabitants, Domains before which the princely grounds of the English gentry sank into insignificance, could be had for little else than a quit claim of the wolf and the bear.

One of the first points towards which this spirit of enterprise was directed, was Cape Anne. Here the merchants of Dorchester and neighborhood, had for several years traded and fished on the coast, and returned with cargoes of codfish, beaver skins, &c.†

*Hubbard.

†Planter's Plea. Hubbard.

The English ships had increased rapidly for the past three or four years, and were estimated at this time at forty or fifty ships yearly, and it was thought that they could save much time, and fish more months in the year, if a plantation were established at the Cape, as a depot for salt, trade. curing of fish, &c., and by having a minister there, the fishermen could receive religious instruction.

Accordingly, these merchants, urged on by the zeal of their townsmen, and probably their pastor,* the Rev. John White, who from this time to his death, in 1648, took a deep interest in the colonial enterprise, made an agreement† with the Plymouth Colonists, and organized a joint stock company, with a capital of £3000.‡ under the name of the "Dorchester Company," with John Humphrey as Treasurer, resulting in the patent aforesaid. About one year before the date of the charter, viz, February 18, 1623, Wm. Darby of Dorchester, had petitioned the Council for New England that Robert Bushrode of Dorchester, and associates, might begin a plantation at Cape Anne

The Rev. John White, sometimes called the Patriarch of Dorchester, was no doubt a member of the Dorchester Company, as he afterwards was of the Mass Company.

On Winslow's return, in March 1624, after an absence of six months, he brought with him a few cattle, and abundant supplies for the Plymouth Colony, and materials for a Colony at Cape Anne. After discharging supplies at Plymouth, the ship crossed the Bay to the Cape, taking with her a few of the Plymouth planters, who erected there a great frame house, saltworks, and stages for the fishing business ‖

The year of 1624 was one of preparation, husbandmen,¶ cattle, farming implements, and supplies were sent over, and all things promised well. Their affairs were to be conducted by two overseers. Thomas Gardner over the plantation, and John Tylly over the fishing business.*

This organization was not long satisfactory to the adventurers, and it soon became necessary to have a more judicious management of affairs. About the end of the first year therefore, we find that Mr. White having heard such favorable accounts of Mr Conant, that the adventurers selected him "for the managing and government" of their plantation, and they instructed their Treasurer, Mr Humphrey, to write him in their names on the subject, and inform him "*that they had chosen him to be their Governor in that place.*" They committed to him the entire "charge of their affairs as well fishing as planting.'† Conant resided at this time at Nantasket with Mr. Lyford, John Oldham and others.

They also invited Lyford to be the minister of the Colony, and Oldham to trade on their account with the Indians. Conant and Lyford accepted, but Oldham preferred to remain and trade on his own account, and he thus pursued his enterprising but devious career for a dozen years after, for most of the time at variance with the Colonists, until he was surprised and slain by the Indians, while on a trading voyage at Block Island, in July, 1636

Great hopes were entertained of the future success of the plantation, but this project of the Plymouth planters and scheme for purposes of gain of the Dorchester merchants, was destined to farther disaster.

The Colony consisted of men of various conditions, and a degree of misconduct, if not insubordination, prevailed among them—their fishing operations turned out unfavorably, and the Company at home, finding it a losing concern, became disheartened and abandoned it to its fate. Their return cargoes had not paid,

*Hubbard.
†Mass. His. Coll. 28, 181.
‡Planter's Plea.
‖Prince.
¶Planter's Plea.

*Hubbard.
†Hubbard.

their salt works had been destroyed by fire, and most of their Capital Stock been sunk ; they however paid off their servants, and to such as chose to return, they gave a passage home to England, but how many availed themselves of the privilege, we do not know.

The Colony had now existed rather more than two years, the latter year being under Conant's administration. This abandonment of the plantation was very unpleasant news to Mr. White, but he found in Conant, and a few of his resolute companions, a spirit not easily subdued. These worthies continued to correspond with each other, and thereby confirm that high purpose which struggled at their breasts of providing a refuge where non-conformists could enjoy their religion ; and which at last proved abundantly successful.

At this primitive period, there could have been no travel through the forests, but the track of the wild beast, or the no less fearful trail of the Indian. The only highway of the settlers was the ocean, or a devious route along the sea shore. Explorations, which were undoubtedly made, would naturally tend to the westward. On such occasions, or perhaps when on fishing and fowling excursions, they had discovered land in that direction more suitable for cultivation than at the rocky bluff where they then were, which is now called Stage Head, on the northwest side of the outer harbor of Gloucester

It appears that, about this time, Conant must have written the Rev. Mr. White, that he had discovered this more suitable location for a plantation, on the banks of a small river, called Naumkeag, four or five leagues to the southwest,* where, as Mr. Hubbard says, he had recently conceived in his mind a plantation might be begun, which would prove a receptacle for such as were persecuted on account of their religion † Such a sentiment "could have found harbour only in a great heart and a noble mind."‡ Mr. White replied as has been stated, that he was "grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground," and urged Conant not to desert the business, and faithfully promised him that if himself and John Woodbury, John Balch and Peter Palfrey, whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, "would stay at Naumkeag and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and send them whatever they should write for, either men, provisions or goods, to trade with the Indians."*

By this letter of Mr. White, we are not to infer that only these four men removed to Naumkeag, but rather that these were prominent men, perhaps personally known to Mr. White, who may have been mentioned in one of Conant's letters, as men he could depend upon ; such men would naturally have others adhere to them Conant returned answer that they would stay on these terms ; at the same time, entreating that they might be encouraged accordingly. We will now endeavor to trace the actions of Conant and his followers, and see in what this agreement resulted.

The Colony at Cape Anne probably never numbered above fifty persons, who had now dispersed ; a part returned to England, the remainder to the number of twenty-five or thirty persons, as we have reason to believe, of both sexes, and all ages removed to Naumkeag. This statement may surprise some who have adopted the erroneous idea that four forlorn fishermen, the very extremity of this scattered fishing colony, had sought at Naumkeag a transient abode, where they continued their precarious occupation, without any fixed purpose or design, ready at the first turn of fortune to change their place of abode, or leave their huts on the coast, to launch again upon the restless waters of the ocean.

One of the most important witnesses of the old planters, was Richard Brackenbury, who came over with Gov. Endicott, in 1628, and whose testimony appears in a deposition taken

*Planter's Plea.
†Hubbard.
‡Thornton.

*Hubbard.

in 1680, when an aged man, and was called forth thus.

The Mason family claimed a large portion of New England, by virtue of a patent granted prior to that to the Massachusetts Colony, and in 1680 all persons living within the claimed limits were required by a letter from the King to the Massachusetts authorities, to transmit proofs of their Real Estate.

The southern bounds of this claim terminated on the northern side of the North river.—Richard Brackenbury, then living in Beverly, testified on the 16th of 12th month, 1680, that when he came ashore at Salem, fifty-two years before, "we found living there, Old Goodman Norman and his sonn, Wm. Allen and Walter Knight and *others*," "alsoe John Woodburye, Mr. Conant, Peeter Palfery, John Balch and *others*," and that they had sundry houses, built at Salem, &c. He also mentions the house at Cape Anne, which he says he assisted in taking down, and re-constructing in Salem, for Governor Endicott's use, a portion of which stands to this day.

These persons appear to have been landsmen,—planters as they were called,—cultivators of the soil,—and some of them were mechanics, as their subsequent career shows, and not simply fishermen. It was undoubtedly a part of their employment to cure fish, collect beaver skins and furs, or perform any and every service that the welfare of the Colony demanded.

We find that about 1631, Roger Conant, Peter Palfray, Anthony Dike and Francis Johnson formed themselves into a Company, for traffic in furs, with a truck house at the eastward. Dike perished on Cape Cod, in 1638, as it seems, when returning from Maine with a cargo for himself and partners.

With but little tax upon the imagination we may say, that during the summer of 1626, Conant, Woodbury, and others, of the prominent men of the Cape Ann Plantation, might have been seen occasionally sailing in their shallop, up the northern shore of the Bay, to its western bounds at Naumkeag, passing by the "hills and dales" covered with "gay woods and trees," as they made preparation for removal thither.

Along the same shore that three years afterward filled the enthusiastic Higginson with longings to know more of the new Paradise of New England, whose signals of fertility painted the sea with the storm-reft petals of its flowery meadows,—the same shore whose fragrant breezes revived the drooping spirits of Lady Arabella, and the gentlewomen of the fleet of 1630, with that "sweet air from the shore like the smell of a garden," and whose eyes and palates were greeted on landing there, "with ripe strawberries, gooseberries, and sweet single roses," the same shore that had a dozen years before caused the gallant Captain Smith to call it "the Paradise of all those parts," and to name its Cape after the fair Turkish maiden, who had befriended him in former exile,* and that caused the Prilgrims of that dreary wintry welcome of 1620, to wish they had settled there. Even to the present time this shore retains many of its primitive charms, which are abundantly asserted by the wealth and taste that there make their abode, and find therein wholesome gratification and retirement.

In the fall of 1626, after partial preparations had been made, this resolute band embarked with their households and effects, their cattle† and implements of husbandry, making, as they undoubtedly must, many passages in their boats or shallops, for the purpose of such removal, leaving behind them their large frame house, with remnants of their thatched cottages, also their fishing improvements and harvested fields, and with a cold winter before them, they began anew the work of settlement under great weakness, but stronger even in diminished numbers, because purged of the unruly, the weak and the vacillating.

Wood, in his New England Prospect, states in August 1633, that corn had been raised in

*Hilliard's Life of Smith.

†Planter's Plea.

Salem seven years together, thus corrobating the date 1626.

The services of such men as William Allen and Richard Norman, must have been peculiarly in demand, (for they were carpenters,) in felling trees and constructing places of abode for themselves, their wives and little ones, and in providing shelter for their cattle.—Here Conant, as he says of himself, built the first house erected in Salem.

Near the extremity of North Point, or at Cape Ann Ferry, or Ipswich Ferry, as it was variously called, now a little west of the junction of Beverly Bridge, may be seen the outcropping of a Metamorpic Rock, as it slopes its checkered surface into the sea, that with its intersected dikes and veins, fills the mind of the geologist with wondering interest, as he counts the deeply graven record of eleven of the old earth's eruptions.

Here on this spot thus scored by the hand of Deity, we believe Conant and his followers, the pilgrim band of Massachusetts, stayed their wandering feet, and commenced their permanent abode; and here too, we believe, they welcomed Endicott and his company to their wilderness home; thereby tallying another epoch in the world's history, for here it was that freedom, long confined in the mother country, burst the crust of tyranny and oppression that bound her, and began to over flow the land with its blessings, and spread out the solid foundations on which our Republic rests.

On this peninsula the Colonists found a soil of easy cultivation, a light warm loam, which they, in imitation of the Indian planters, manured with fish, which frequented the shores in great abundance; and they were thus enabled to raise large crops of Indian corn and other products.

Hubbard says, "Here they took up their station, upon a pleasant and fruitful neck of land, environed with an arm of the sea on each side, in either of which vessels and ships of good burthen might easily anchor."

They settled with the best understanding with the Indians, with whom they "had a field in common fenced in together," and to them the natives sometimes fled for shelter and protection, "saying they were afraid of their enemy Indians in the country," meaning the Tarrentines who lived to the eastward.

Here the first houses were built, and their cattle, which must have been regarded of great value, brought over as they were with much care and cost, were pastured.

The old Planters appear to have occupied the larger part of the peninsula lying between the North River and Collins Cove; and they may not have been strangers to that larger peninsula beyond, which afterward became the centre of the town. This strip of land they appear to have divided into lots, of upland and marsh, running from the river on which they fronted across the marsh to Collins Cove.—With great application under the indefiniteness of extant records, we think some of their lots might even now be designated,—such as Palfrey's and Balch's and perhaps Wm. Allen's, who in 1638 was granted one acre of salt marsh at the end of his lot, and who sold his estate upon his removal to Manchester.

Not long after Conant had removed to his farm at the head of Bass River, the town ordered that his house be bought as a residence for William Plaice, blacksmith, and his wife.

This region in the early deeds of land and later was called "the Old Planters' Marsh," or near or on "the way to the Ipswich Ferry."

Potter's field, where the Lady Arabella and Mrs. Phillips* were buried in 1630, was near the Planter's Marsh.

The venerable Dr. Holyoke was accustomed to say that the grave of Arabella Johnson was denoted by a brick monument within his remembrance, but where that was is now unknown, the nearest designation is, that it was somewhere on the land bordering the west side of Collins Cove. It was by some supposed that her grave was discovered upon the open-

*Magnalia B. iii ch. IV, p. 82.

ing of the Essex Railroad, through the Pickman field, lying between Pleasant and Bridge streets: the late Stephen Whitmore, Jr., when digging a post hole near his rope factory, below Osgood street, found a quantity of very large bricks which he supposed were brought from England, and which he thought were a remnant of the brick monument referred to. This matter has received much investigation from the hands of antiquarians, and will perhaps forever remain in doubt.

Aged persons state that the site on which this ropewalk is built, was, before the filling up of the marsh, for purposes of cultivation, a sandy ridge that ran from the upland into the marsh and might therefore have been an appropriate place, away from their dwellings, for a burial ground.

Governor Endicott and his party, when they arrived, probably regarding the river instead of the present harbor as the best entrance to the country, located themselves beyond the old planters, further up the stream. The Governor's house, which was at first set up at Cape Anne, in 1624, by the party who went over from Plymouth with Edward Winslow, was shaken and brought to Naumkeag, and re-erected here, a few rods from the water, upon the elevated banks of the North River, now the northeast corner of Washington and Church streets.—the Newhall house there standing being in part the same. This site, with the old arbor-fort, a defence from the Indians, erected a few rods distant to the westward, was the highest land in the body of the town.

From and after Endicott's arrival, the settlement radiated from this point toward the harbor. Among the earliest allotments of land, then the chief interest of the country, were grants of farms on the several branches of the Naumkeag river,—and the old planters were among the first to receive awards from the new government.

We will now inquire who composed this lonely band of Massachusetts pilgrims. But where shall we look for their muster roll? With such evidence as we are able to command, we have traced out the following names, most of whom are mentioned by Mr. Felt, in his History of Salem.

1. Roger Conant, Governor.
2. John Lyford. Minister.
3. John Woodbury.
4. Humphrey Woodbury.
5. John Balch.
6. Peter Palfray.
7. Walter Knight.
8. William Allen.
9. Thomas Gray.
10. John Tylly.
11. Thomas Gardner.
12. Richard Norman.
13. Richard Norman, "his sonne."
14. Capt. William Trask.
15. William Jeffrey.

These men were all in the prime of life.—Conant in 1626, was 33 years of age. Knight was 39, Woodbury's son Humphrey was 20 in 1628. Norman's son was perhaps younger. The others, with the exception of "old Norman," were probably all under 40 years of age. These are the names of the men only, upon whom the burden of the Colony chiefly rested; several of them had their families with them. Jeffrey appears to have been somewhat unstable in settlement; he probably at this time resided at Jeffrey's Creek, now Manchester. We feel confident that he was then living within the extensive bounds of what was then and long afterward known as Salem proper.

A writer in the Genealogical Register, in an article on the Lindall family, claims Philip Veren as one of Conant's company; but Mr. Savage, in his "Gleanings for New England History,' gives an extract from the Records of Salisbury, which shows that the Colony had existed nine years before Veren came over, and that Philip Veren, with his brother Joshua, were about sailing for New England from New Sarum, in April 1635.

In regard to the number of the old planters, perhaps a comparison with the Plymouth Col-

ony will suggest probabilities. Of 101 passengers by the Mayflower, in 1620, 40 only were men, 17 of these were single, the rest of the company was composed of their wives and children. The average members of families, additional to each of the 40 men, are about one and a half persons.

Now if we reckon the men at Naumkeag, fifteen only, this family average would add about twenty more, swelling the total of both sexes and all ages, to thirty-five individuals, which is about the same as Mr. Felt's computation, but how he came to this conclusion, we know not.

It is not at all probable that we have the names of all the men, as Brackenbury states, twice over, after giving the names of some, "*and others*" When a portion of these men left the Plymouth Colony for Nantasket, it is said that they were followed by their families. Roger Conant, in his petition of 1671, says expressly, that he settled in Massachusetts with his family. His wife, Sarah, we know was here, and his eldest son, Lot, was born about 1624, perhaps at Nantasket, and may have been baptized by Lyford, of whose ministrations no record remains His son, Roger, was born at Naumkeag, in 1626, the year of settlement, being the first white child born in Salem. Conant's family alone adds four individuals to the list.

John Woodbury, when he returned from England in 1628, six months perhaps before the arrival of Endicott, brought with him his son Humphrey, a youth of about 20 years of age, who had probably been left at home to complete his education, a common custom with the elderly children of the first settlers; other members of his family may also have been settled here. His brother William, we know, was living here a few years after, and is supposed to have located in Beverly, certainly as early as 1630.

There is some probability that Palfray had children, older than those whose baptisms are found recorded in the First Church Records.

Richard Norman had a son, of an age, as we should infer from Brackenbury's account, at near that of manhood. Mr Felt calls him Richard, Jr., but we are inclined to think his son John was referred to by Brackenbury, as he was then a lad about 15 years old.

His son Richard, whom we find living in Marblehead a few years later, with his father, was born in 1623, and could consequently have been but three years of age, which would be presumptive proof that his mother came with him, which would make out four in this family. And in this manner, other members of the old planters' families, known to have been living at this time, and who, in all probability, accompanied their father or parents to this country, could be added to the number, which would individualize or materially increase the list.

We have thus shown, we think, with scarcely a doubt, that there were at least thirty or forty people here, previous to the arrival of Gov. Endicott and followers, forming a Colony of sufficient numbers and strength to bear that name, and which secured and maintained the most persevering exertions in their behalf, of the Rev. John White, and other friends about Dorchester,* which resulted at last in stirring up such an interest, that a new company was formed in England, composed of the remnant of the old company, united with these friends, and who subsequently bought all the effects of the Dorchester Company, both at Cape Anne and Naumkeag, and procured a charter as had been promised.

They sent over Capt. John Endicott, one of their own number, "to strengthen the Colony and administer its government,"—"to erect a new Colony upon the old foundation,"†—"to begin a plantation, and to strengthen such as he should find there which were sent thither from Dorchester,"‡ —"to carry on the plantation of the Dorchester merchants at Naumkeag or

*Hubbard.

†White's brief relation.

‡Dudley's Letter.

Salem, and make way for the settling of another Colony in Massachusetts."* Such are the nearly parallel statements of White, Dudley, and Hubbard.

The constancy of the Colony was severely tried, when their minister, Mr. Lyford, received "a loving invitation" to settle in Virginia. Lyford decided to embark for his new abode, and used such persuasions to induce the entire Colony to accompany him, that some openly expressed their desire to depart, while others, discouraged by privation and the continual fear of attack from the Northern Indians, who were warlike and powerful, were ready to abandon the enterprise, and go home to England. This disaffection is not to be wondered at, when we reflect that this little band were, on account of difference in religion, more or less despised and neglected by the Plymouth people, and being doubtful of assistance from home, their loneliness became oppressive to them.

Lyford departed, probably accompanied by a few of the Colony. It is at this point that the character of Conant stands forth in heroic grandeur. The resolute purpose so dear to his heart, of founding an Asylum for his persecuted countrymen, who still clung to the skirts of the mother church, was not to be lightly relinquished. All the inducements of the designing Lyford, and all the arguments that privation and dread of invasion forced from his companions, fell powerless beside him, like arrows against a rock, and he told them at last that they might go if they wished, and though all of them should forsake him, he should "wait the providence of God in that place where they now were, not doubting that if they departed, he should soon have more company.† Where shall we look to find a "more sublime heroism, a purer self-devotion, loftier faith and trust," than was here displayed.‡

*Hubbard.
†Hubbard.
‡Thornton.

In after years Conant says of himself, "I was a means through grace assisting me to stop the flight of those few that were heere with me, and that by my utter deniall to goe away with them who would have gone either for England or mostly to Virginia have therefore stayed to the hassard of our lives."*— They remained and subsisted partly upon the products of the field and upon fish and game, with which the country abounded. After this they must have redoubled their exertions in husbandry,—cultivating indian corn, tobacco and vegetables, and collecting beaver skins and furs, for purposes of trade and remittance homeward.

Now that their resolution was taken, they wisely thought that they could hasten assistance by sending a messenger to England. Accordingly, in the winter of 1627, they dispatched on this mission, John Woodbury, whose residence in the country for three years had made him familiar with its resources.

Mr. White must have greeted him with a cordial welcome, from whom he learned that there were others interested in the success of the struggling colony, and who stood ready to become its patrons.

Under the Dorchester influence and the exertions of Thomas Dudley and others, he found a company already formed, by the name of "the New England Company."

A charter of the region called Massachusetts Bay, was granted by the Council for New England, March 19, 1628, to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Knight, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitcombe, Gentlemen,† which superseded the Cape Ann Charter, and Woodbury had the satisfaction of returning to Naumkeag, after an absence of six months, with assurances of both men and supplies. He brought with him his son Humphrey as before mentioned, and arrived here in the spring of 1628, and cheered the hearts of the anxious colonists

*Mass. His. Coll. 27, 252.
†Hubbard.

with a recital of the interest that their fidelity had inspired.

The new company set themselves to the work with a zeal worthy of their noble cause. They purchased all the rights and improvements made under the Dorchester Company in New England, and prepared to furnish substantial assistance to the Colony in men, provisions, &c. And although they had every commendation in favor of retaining Mr. Conant in office, they preferred to make choice of one of their own number, to be Governor of the Colony here. Capt. John Endicott, a "worthy gentleman," and a man well known to persons of note,* he was cousin by marriage to Matthew Craddock, the Governor of the Company's affairs in London. The following language is used in the Company's letter to Endicott, of April 17, 1629, after he had come over. "Since your departure we have for the *further strengthening of our grant from the Councell* at Plymouth, obtained a confirmation of it from his Majesty by his letters patent, and *confirmed you Governor*, of our Plantation," with a Councell "styled the Councell of the Massachusetts Bay;" and again April 30, 1629, they "thought fit to settle an absolute government in our plantation in the said Massachusetts Bay," and they "chose and elected Capt. John Endicott to the place of present *Governor*, in our said Plantation.

The judiciousness of this choice, though bearing severely upon Conant, was all important to the Colony. The struggling colonists had now been two lonely years at Naumkeag, nearly as long as their abode at Cape Anne, and had supported and protected themselves through two long, cold New England winters. Their second crop of corn was nearly ready for harvest, when the "Abigail" hove in sight, as she approached along the Cape Anne shore, and at last cast anchor at the mouth of the river. That succor so long prayed for had at last arrived, and their drooping spirits bounded with renewed vigor.

On the other hand, to the passengers on board the Abigail, everything must have appeared cheering and delightful,—the forests in their most expansive suit of green, untarnished as yet by the frosts of Autumn, studded the islands upon their track,—crested every hilltop and bordered every cove, and seemed to welcome the weary voyagers as they swayed in the fitful breezes of the departing summer.

As they neared the shore, balsamic odors borne down from pine-clad slopes, refreshed them;—here and there the parting forests revealed fair fields and meadows, where waved hundreds of unshorn acres, mottled with patches of golden rod, trumpet weed, and the Michaelmas daisy. The rose and the barberry from rounded copses, hung over the waters their ripened fruits in clusters of the richest scarlet.

With eager eyes the pilgrims discern in the thicket, the rude wigwams of the natives, and a few erect forms of a recently numerous tribe return their gaze; but the most cheering sight to the emigrants were the abodes of Conant and his companions, but just visible in their little clearings in the forest.

The Colonists in expectation of their arrival had made such preparation for them as was in their power. Their dependance upon each other was mutual. Succor on one hand, and hospitality on the other, sealed a hearty welcome and filled their cup of joy. The Colony was cared for, the prayers and zeal of Mr. White were answered; but the mild and self-sacrificing Conant had yet other trials to endure; he had accomplished much for the Colony thus far, but the consciousness of his well-doing was to be his only reward. He was deposed,—all his schemes for its advancement must now be abandoned to others,—all the effects and improvements of the Colony had been sold.

It was not long before Gov. Endicott showed Conant his letter of instructions from the Com-

*Planter's Plea.

pany, which informed him of the new aspect of affairs, and that he had come with full authority to take possession of their houses, boats, servants, and improvements, and assume the reins of government. This information could not have been welcome either to Conant or his companions, and we can readily sympathise with them when they afterward complain that they have been accounted but little better than slaves.

There arrived in the Abigail, fifty or sixty passengers, which united with the old planters, swelled the number to about one hundred persons, and much greater preparations were making at home to place the Colony in a far more substantial position. Any careful reader of history cannot fail to see that the old Planters were of sufficient influence and importance to give the new government much uneasiness under the disaffection which followed, and it required all the prudence and public virtue of Conant, the firmness of Endicott, and the influence of Rev Mr. White, with Craddock, at home to restore harmony of action, so that by the third of June of the next year, the Colony then consisting of about three hundred persons, at a General Court convened by Gov. Endicott for the purpose, they all by common consent combined together into one body politic under the same Governor; therefore up to this time, a period of nine months, Conant's party probably kept up a more or less independent organization, both of Church and State. Hubbard* says of this, "The late controversy that had been agitated with too much animosity betwixt the forementioned Dorchester planters, and their new Agent and his Company, being by the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant, agent before for the Dorchester merchants, quietly composed that so *meum* and *tuum*, which divide the world, should not disturb the peace of good christians, who came so far to provide a place where to live together in christian amity and concord."

*Mass. His. Coll. 15, 113.

The very name of our city, *Salem*, (*City of Peace*,) adopted at the same General Court, and suggested by this occasion shall ever remain a witness of this disaffection and controversy, and a lasting memorial of its happy termination and ajustment, and which is echoed by her sixty namesakes, scattered over the United States.

White, in his Planter's Plea, says of this controversy, the change of name from Naumkeik to Salem, was done "upon a fair ground, in remembrance of a *peace* settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors after expectance of some dangerous jar." It is supposed that the suggestion of this name was made by Francis Higginson.

Still the wound was not entirely healed, and its irritation can be occasionally seen throughout that generation. It is plainly apparent upwards of forty years afterward, in Conant's petition to General Court, in 1671, when he speaks of the hazard of life and the sacrifices he had made for the public good without personal reward.

The compromise adopted was brought about chiefly by the careful and judicious instructions of the Company to Gov. Endicott, a policy dictated both by a sense of justice, and a reasonable apprehension that Mr. Oldham, of the Church party, might draw the old planters into his plan of maintaining independent jurisdiction over the territory of Massachusetts, according to a conveyance he held from John the brother of Robert Gorges.

Under date of April 17, 1629, Mr. Craddock in his official letter to Gov. Endicott, uses this language, "and that it may appear as well to all the world as to the old planters themselves, that wee seke not to make them slaves, (as it seems by your letter some of them think themselves to bee become by means of our patent,) wee are content they shall be partakers of such privileges as wee, from his Majesty's especial grace, with great cost, favor of personages of note, and much labor, have obtained, and that they shall be incorporated

into this society, and enjoy not only their lands which formerly they have manured, but such a further proportion as by the advice and judgment of yourself and the rest of the council, shall be thought fit *for them or any of them.* And besides it is still our purpose that they should have some benefit by the common stock as by your first commission directed and appointed ; with this addition, that if it be held too much to take thirty per cent. and the freight of the goods for and in consideration of an adventure and disbursement of your moneys, to be paid in beaver at six shillings per pound, that you moderate the said rate, as you, with the rest of the Council, shall think to be agreeable to equity and good conscience."

They also granted the old planters the exclusive privilege of raising tobacco, from which they expected great remuneration, and in the Government they were to have the privilege of choosing two of the twelve Councilmen from their own number. (Is it not absurd then to suppose that there were but four settlers here, when Endicott came ?) The followers of Conant had undoubtedly been increased by the arrival of the fishing and trading vessels, that frequented the coast from the time he took his firm determination to remain at Naumkeag. Mr. Thornton says :—"If, under such conditions, and such a fulfilment of the agreement, Conant and his associates are desirous to live amongst us, and conform themselves to good order and government, said those who had taken summary possession of the territory and of the improvements thereon, we will permit them to remain."

"The legal title was now in the new Company, who, strong in wealth and influence, were decidedly aggressive in spirit, and the only alternative for these leaders in the forlorn hope was dispersion and an abandonment of the now ripening fruits of their labors.—They submitted to the lesser evil ; but historic impartiality, upon a survey of the facts, will yield a verdict of exact justice, unvitiated by superior interests and prejudices."*

It would be extraneous to my plan to enter into an ecclesiastical review of the affairs of the Colony, and to show the development of the simple congregational form of worship adopted by the government, and of the influence of Dr Fuller, of Plymouth, in bringing it about, and of the accommodation of Higginson and Shelton to it, who had not made up their minds to any particular form of church government before leaving England,—resulting in the simple ordination of August 6, 1629, and the establishment of the Salem Church.

Suffice it to say, that Prelacy could not exist in such a community, which was soon manifested in the expulsion of the two Browns, and so universally was this feeling impressed that no Episcopal minister was settled in Salem, for upward of one hundred years afterward. Under this state of things, we see another instance of the self-sacrificing spirit of Conant, who again yields up his private wishes to the majority, and joins in communion with a Separatist Church, and at its altar his children were baptized. His name stands enrolled the fifth upon the extant list of its members.

The church party consisting chiefly of the old planters, are supposed to have relinquished their Episcopacy, and joined the Congregational Church, about the time the Browns were sent home,† and but a few weeks after the organization of the church. The old planters were allowed to retain the lands they had already improved and cultivated, and to be allowed an equitable portion in other lands to be subsequently granted. Accordingly we find by the town Book of Grants, on the "25th of 11th mon, 1635, that Captain Trask, John Woodbury, Mr. Conant, Peter Palfrey, and John Balch, are to have five farms, viz : each two hundred acres apiece, to form in all, a

*Thornton.

†Felt.

thousand acres of land together lying, and being at the head of Bass river, one hundred and twenty-four poles in breadth, and soe runin northerly to the river by the great pond side,* and soe in breadth making up the full quantity of a thousand acres, these limits laid out and surveyed by vs.

JOHN WOODBURY,
JOHN BALCH."

This locality is afterward in the Records, often called "The Old Planters' Farms."

Again there were granted to John Woodbury, John Balch, and Mr. Conant, five acres of meadow apiece, in some convenient place. Conant soon after removed to his grant, and was followed by some of the others. Palfrey never settled upon his, but removed to Reading.

The first grants of land we find recorded, were made on 1st of 8 month, 1634. The grant above mentioned, was recorded on the third page of the book of Grants, and there appear to have been but two large lots granted prior to the one thousand acre lot to the old planters, and these were granted but one week previous, viz: three hundred acres to Robert Cole, where his cattle are, by Brooksby, and a farm of two hundred acres to Lieut. Johnson, also at Brooksby, (South Danvers)

The question may arise here, why were not more of the names of the old planters mentioned in this grant. The answer to this may be, that under the Company instructions, planters were to have land granted them in proportion to their interest in the common stock, perhaps for improvements they had made, in advance of their comrades. Distinction of merit seems implied in Craddock's letter, as appears by the above quotation in my italics. Other of the old planters received separate grants of land as can be seen by the Book of Grants, such as Richard and John Norman, who were granted twenty acres of land each.

The exertions of Rev. Mr. White did not cease with the obtaining of the charter and despatching the ship Abigail; it was through his means that the original patentees "were brought into acquaintance with other religious persons of like quality in and about London, such as Mr. Wintrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Craddock, Mr. Goffe, and Sir Richard Saltonstall."

The emigration of Endicott was followed by that of Rev. Francis Higginson, with two hundred more passengers, and planters, who arrived early the next summer.

The year after, (1630,) was signalised by the arrival of Gov. Winthrop, with the home Company, original charter,* and a large number of passengers, in a fleet of seventeen ships; and emigrants continued to pour in rapidly, so that in 1637, nine years after the return of Woodbury, and arrival of Endicott, the Massachusetts Colony numbered not less than eight thousand souls, nine hundred of whom were inhabitants of Salem.†

The acts of the old planters soon became no longer distinctly visible, as Hutchinson says of Conant:—"The superior condition of those who came over with the charter, cast a shade upon *them*." Suffice it to say that they continued to bear a fair share in town and colonial affairs, and spent lives of great usefulness and honor. Partial accounts (which might be greatly enlarged,) of these men and their families are here appended. Several of their grand-children, mere youths, perished in that memorable battle with the Indians, at Bloody Brook, under Capt. Lathrop, of Beverly, September 18, 1675.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*Wenham Lake.

*The Charter provided in itself for an "exemplification," or duplicate of precisely the same legal authority: this duplicate charter Gov. Endicott brought with him in 1628, and under it he ruled the Colony; it is preserved in the Archives of the Salem Athenæum, and may be seen at Plummer Hall.—Winthrop, a succeeding Governor of the Colony, with whom the Company—the Governor making power—came, brought with him the other, or original charter, as it has usually been called; this also is preserved in the State House at Boston.

†Felt's Am. Stat. Ass'n., vol. 1, 138.

LETTER OF HON. BENJAMIN GOODHUE, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, TO ELIAS HASKETT DERBY, OF SALEM—CITY OF NEW YORK IN 1787.

I send you for publication a copy of a letter from Hon Benj. Goodhue to Elias Haskett Derby, of Salem, which, I think, may interest some of your readers:

What a different aspect New York City must have presented at the date of this letter, from her present appearance! Sam Breck, in his Historical Sketch of the Continental Paper Money, says,—"In the month of June, of the year 1787, on my return from a residence of a few years in France, I arrived at that city, and found it a neglected place, built chiefly of wood, and in a state of prostration and decay. A dozen vessels in port. Broadway, from Trinity Church inclusive down to the Battery, in ruins, owing to a fire that had occurred when the city was occupied by the enemy, during the latter end of the war. The ruined walls of the burnt houses standing on both sides of the way, testifying to the poverty of the place, five years after the conflagration; for although the war had ceased during that period, and the enemy had departed, no attempt had been made to rebuild them. In short, there was silence and inactivity everywhere; and the whole population was very little over twenty thousand."

This is in striking contrast with the new York of the present day—the leading commercial city of the world. B.

New York, April 5, 1789.

The people of the United States, I think, are peculiarly unfortunate, after manifesting so laudable an avidity for the adoption of the new government to have the exercise of it so long delayed through the inexcusable, and I may add reproachful inattention of several of the persons whom they have elected for its administration. Congress have not yet a sufficient number of members of both Houses in Town to enable them to proceed upon business. The Senate wants one to form their body, and from the accounts of a Senator from Virginia being near at hand, that desirable event is momentarily expected. I pray we may not again be mortified with a disappointment, for I am persuaded if the doctrine be true that it's good for us to be afflicted, we have had so bountiful a portion as leaves no reason to doubt of its salutary operation. I inclose you the names of the gentlemen present:

New Hampshire—Honorable Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts—Fisher Ames, Geo. Leonard, Geo. Thatcher, Benj. Goodhue, Elb. Gerry, Geo. Partridge.

Maryland—Wm. Smith, Geo. Gale, — Carrol

Connecticut—Jona. Sturges, Jere'h Wadsworth, Benj Huntington, Jona. Trumbul, Roger Sherman.

New Jersey—Lambert Cadwallader, Elias Boudinot, James Schureman.

Pennsylvania—Fred'k A. Muhlenburg, Spk., Thomas Hartley, Henry Wynkoop, Peter Muhlenburg, Daniel Heister, Thomas Scott, Geo. Clymer.

Virginia—James Madison, Rich. B. Lee, John Page, Alex'r White, Andrew Moore, Sam'l Griffin, Josiah Parker, Theoderick Bland.

South Carolina—Thomas T. Tuker.

Senators, which ought to have preceded the Representatives:

N. H.—Messrs. Langdon, Wingate.
M.—Strong.
C.—Dr. Johnson, Ellsworth.
N. J.—Patterson, Elmore.
P.—Morris, Macclay.
D.—Bassett.
G.—Few.

I am, with sentiments of esteem, Your Friend and Serv't,

B. GOODHUE.

P. S. I have just this moment heard of the arrival of Mr. Lee, the Senator from Virginia, who I have mentioned as being expected. We shall therefore, after so long a time, have the pleasure of forming both houses, to morrow, and after opening the votes of the Electors for a President and V. President, immediately dispatch a messenger to Mount Vernon, and another to Braintree, to notify those great personages of their respective appointments.

E. H. Derby, Esq.

PRIVATEER JUNIUS BRUTUS.

I find among the papers of my late grandfather, Jonathan Andrew, (deceased 1781,) who was an ardent patriot during the revolu-

tionary war, and an agent for Privateers, the following list of the officers and crew of the Ship Junius Brutus. She was a ship carrying 20 guns, and 110 men, and was captured in Oct.. 1782 and sent to Newfoundland. Felt says, 1782. Feb'y 19, "A ship arrives, taken by the Junius Brutus ; had 1 killed, 2 wounded, and the prize 2 killed and 5 wounded." I find by a memo. on the paper from which I copy, that the J. B. was in Virginia 31st October, 1780, where several men deserted her. Thinking this list may possess some interest at this day, I have transcribed it for publication in your paper. B. F. B.

List of Names, Stations and Shares, Junius Brutus.

John Brooks,	Captain,	9 shares
Wm. Patterson,	1st Lieut.,	6 do
Hugh Smith,	2d do.	5 do
Chas. Hamilton,	Master,	5 do
Martin Levett,	Surgeon,	6 do
Robt Fairservice,	Clerk,	2½ do
Jonath Glover,	Ship Mate,	3½ do
Jno. Sinclair,	2d do.	3 do
Jonath. Mayson,	Prize Master,	3 do
Thos. Webb,	do.	3 do
Benj'n Thompson,	do.	3 do
Joseph Trask,	do.	3 do
Jno. Adden,	do.	3 do
Joseph Salter,	do.	3 do
Stephen Archer,	do.	3 do
John Saint,	Boatswain,	3 do
And'w Trewlove	Mate,	2 do
Charles Peterson,	do.	2 do
David Bickford,	Stuard,	3 do
Jno. Hovey,	Cooper,	2 do
Edward Dalton,	Gunner,	3 do
Andrew Morgan,	Mate,	2 do
Neh'iah Cushman,	do.	1½ do
Jno. Nooton,	Carpenter,	3 do
Sam'l McIntire,	Mate,	1½ do
Peter Smothers,	Jr. Master,	2 do
John Jackson	do.	2 do
John Hall,	Sail Maker,	2 do
Sam'l Knap,	Cook,	2 do
Jonath Newell,	Cabin Cook,	1¼ do
Gibson Clough,	Capt. Marines,	2½ do
Jno. Wakefield,	Armourer,	1½ do

Seamen.	Shares.	Seamen.	Shares.
Jno. Watts,	1	Jacob Newell,	1
James Elliot,	1	Benj'n Butler,	1
Joseph Homan,	1	Edward Perlans,	1
Jno. Peeters,	1	Jno. Still,	1
James Hynds,	1	Jona. Teague,	1
Jno Mc. Niel,	1	Jno. Allen,	1
Thos Milburn,	1	Jno. McKenney,	1
Isaac Lofty,	1	Edw'a Tucker,	1
James Hamelton,	1	Nic'k Wallace,	1
James Robertson,	1	Wm. Saucefield,	1
Tho. Traverse,	1	Thos. Norris,	1
Leander Smith,	1	Jno. Orrick,	¾
Martin Whitforth,	1	Thos. Rigsley,	1
Duncan McPherson,	1	Wm Brandson,	1
Oliver Wellman,	1	Aaron Crowell,	¾
Robt. Hazelton,	1	Jona. Brown,	½
Daniel Mehaney,	1	Joseph Allen,	1
Wm. Burbank,	1	David Whipple,	1
Benj'n Felt,	1	Sam'l Russell	¾
Thos. Smith,	1	Peter Folsom,	1
John Hooton,	1	George Herculeous,	¾
James Turner,	1	David Roach,	1
Joshua Grant,	1	James McNeil,	¾
John Cain,	1	Anthony Knap,	½
Jno. Oakman,	1	Wm. Butler,	¾
Thos. Robertson,	½	Wm Pye,	¾
Thos. Jones,	1	Sam'l Pickworth,	1
Rob't Remmons,	1	Benj'n White,	½
Rob't Cloutman,	1	Wm Adams,	¾
Thos. Driver,	¾	John Leach,	¾
Ebenez. Whitfoot,	1	Nehem Gould,	¾
James Bean,	1	John Wait,	1
John Meach,	1	Benj'n Woolbridge,	½
Jno. Pitman,	1	Joseph Severy,	½
John Cooley,	1	John Archer,	¾
Amos Dolliver,	1	James Black,	1
James Wood,	1	Jno. Edmonds,	1
Jona. Thompson,	1	Samuel Towns,	½
Otho Beal,	1	Abrah'm Woollett,	1
John Fannock,	1	Amos Newell,	1
Clement Severy,	1	Edward Still,	1
John Dennis,	1	Thos. Powell,	¾
Wm. Bradish,	1	French Deacons,	1
Jno. Fenley,	1	David Leach,	¾
Rob't Gover,	1	Charles Wood,	1
Robt. Orrick,	1		

Christ'r Wallburt was missed on the 3d day of September; was supposed to have fallen overboard.

EXPEDITION TO RHODE ISLAND IN 1778.

In the summer of that year, the Island was in the occupation of a body of British troops, under the command of Major General Sir Robert Pigot; and it was determined that an attempt to recover possession should be made by an American army under Maj. Gen. Sullivan, in conjunction with the French fleet commanded by the Count D'Estaing. The British force was estimated at about 6500 men; the American, at 9000 or 10000, consisting of 2200 continental soldiers and 7000 or 8000 militia. Of the latter a large portion were volunteers from New England. Owing to disasters to the French ships, occasioned by a tempest, and to jealousies subsisting between D'Estaing and his captains, the fleet failed to cooperate, and the Americans, who had landed upon the Island, and had taken a position near to Newport, were under the necessity of retreating. The quota required of Salem was 52 men; but the following list, copied

from an ancient original supposed to be correct, contains the names of 81 volunteers. Some contemporary letters say that nearly or quite 100 men marched from Salem; but unless they mean to include about 25 boatmen for landing the Americans, there is of course an error, either in the list or in the letters. It will be seen that many of the prominent men of Salem were in the ranks. The company left Salem about the 4th of August, and landed on Rhode Island on the 16th. On the evening of the 29th, the American army retired to the north part of the island. The next day they repulsed the British, and in the night effected their retreat to the main land without the loss of men or stores.

The list is presumed to be correct, from the fact that it is headed "List of the Volunteer Company from Salem," in the hand-writing of Mr. George Williams, brother-in-law of Col. Timothy Pickering, and is indorsed in Col. Pickering's hand-writing, "List of Volunteers from Salem, for the Rhode Island Expedition, August, 1778."

Sam'l Flagg, Captain,
Miles Greenwood, 1st Lt.,
Robt. Foster, 2d do.,
Benjamin Ropes, Jr.,
George Smith,
David Boyse,
Caleb Smith,
Wm. Gerald,
Simon Gardner,
Jno. Chamberlain,
Benj'n Hathorne,
Joseph Young,
George Williams,
Jona. Peele, Jr.,
Jona. Gardner, Jr.,
Jacob Ashton,
Bartho. Putnam,
Samuel Ward,
George Dodge, Jr.,
Benj'n Goodhue, Jr.,
Francis Cabot, Jr.,
Wm. Orne,
Edward Norris,
Benj'n Daland,
Abijah Northey,
Sam'l Grant,
Jno. Fisk,
Simon Forrester,
Francis Dennis,
Sam'l Blyth,
Joshua Dodge,
Jona. Haraden,
David Ropes,
Joseph Chipman,
Jona. Waldo,
Geo. Abbot,
Joshua Ward, Jr.,
Benj'n Moses,
Josiah Dewing,
Jno. Andrew,
James Wood Gould,
Sam'l Phippen,
Jona. Tucker,
Daniel Cheever,
Benj'n Peters,
Sam'l Tucker,
Ezekiel Wellman,
Robt. Peele,
Ellis Mansfield,
Nathan Peirce,
Aaron Waitt,
Robt. Cook,
Nath'l Ropes, Jr.,
Sam'l Ropes,
Wm. Osborne,
Asa Peirce,
Jno. Barr,
Josiah Austin,
Jno. Page,
Benj'n Cloutman,
Jerath'el Peirce,
James Eaton,
James Bott,
Benj'n Frye,
Isaac Needham,
Thos. Needham, Jr.,
Zach'y Burchmore,
Samuel Webb,
Eben Peirce,
Benj'n Warren,
James Walker,
Joseph Mansfield,
Eben Porter,
Daniel Peirce,
Henry Higginson,
Wm. Lang,
Francis Clarke,
Jno. Felt,
Jos. Lambert,
Jona. Mansfield, Jr.,
Joseph Hiller.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS, OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 36.

Henry Bragg & Elizabeth Machmallen were marryed the 17th 10th mo., 1677, theire daughter Elizabeth, borne 7th 7th mo., '78. Mary, borne 24th March, 1680 Henry, borne 12th April, 1682. William, borne 17th Octob'r, 1684. Sarah, borne 26th March, 1687. Sone Alexand'r, born 6th March, 1689

John Buxton & Elizabeth Holton were marryed the 7th 8th mo., 1677. their son Joseph, borne the 24th 9th mo.. 1678. their daughter Sarah, borne the 9th 12th mo., 1680. their son Anthony, borne the 24th 12th mo.. 1682. Hannah, borne 20th January, 1685. Rachell, born 6th May, 1688. Amos Buxton, born Feb'y 12th, 1700-1, Jonathan, born 25th July, 1706.

Christopher, son of Christopher Babbadge, borne by Hanna his wife the 11th 9th mo., 1678. son Richard, borne ye 1st 8th mo., 1680 ; the said Richard, deceased 1st mo '81 ; theire second son Richard, borne ye 14th July, 1682 ; his son Nehemiah, born 25th March, '84.

Tho's Bell & Rebecka Ebborne, marryed 10th 10th mo , 1680 ; theire son Thomas, borne the 26th August, 1681 ; George, borne 10th June, 1684.

Samuell Beadle, his daughter Mary, borne by Hanna his wife the 21st of May, 1678 ; theire son Lemon borne the 30th July, 1680 ; ye daughter Hannah, borne 18th 10th mo., '82 ; ye son Rob't. born 14th 9th mo., '84 ; son Jonathan, born 24th July, 1687, and dyed 16th May, 1688 ; Kaleb, born 24th Feb. 1688.

Thomas Beadle & Elizabeth Drake were marryed ye 18th 7th mo., 1679 : theire daughter Elizabeth, borne July the 9th, 1681 ; Mary, borne 5th 2d mo., 1683 ; Thomas, born March, 1685-6, and dyed '86 ; Benj'n, born 7th 7th mo., '87 ; Thomas, born 10th 12th mo., '89-90 ; John, born 14th Feb'y, 1691-2.

Jno Butolph, his son John, borne by Sarah, his wife, 1st July, 1688. Hannah, born 9th 10th mo., 1689.

Jno Bayly, son of Jno Bayly, borne last Maye, 1681 ; Thomas, borne 16th Maye, '82 ; Eliza, borne 16th July, 1684 ; Nicolas, borne 26th Sept., 1686.

William Bartoll & Susanna Woodbury were marryed ye ——— ; their son Andrew Bartoll, borne the 20th of August, 1680 ; there son William, borne the 4th August, 1682.

Mathew Barton, his daughter Susana, borne by Sarah, his wife, the 10th of May, 1680 ; their son Mathew, borne the 6th 9th mo., 1682 ; their daught'r Sarah, borne 1st Aprill, 1685 ; their daught'r Elizabeth, borne 20th Aprill, 1687.

John Bullock & Mary Maverick were maryed the 3d day of August, 1681 ; their daught'r Elizabeth, borne the 22d of June, 1683 ; their sone John, borne 5th Aprill, 1686.

Edward Bush & Elizabeth Pitman widdow were marryed the first of August 1678, theire daughter Elizabeth borne the 30th of April 1679 : Son Edward born 1st of March 1681-2; daughter Ann borne the 25th of February, 1682-3 ; Benjamin, borne 7th Maye, 1685; Edw'd Bush born 2d August, 1687 ; son Eastick, born 22d of March, '88-9 : son Eastick, borne 14th Maye, 1693.

Jno. Bachelor, dyed August 6th, '84 ; his wife Mary, dyed 19th of August '84.

Robert Braye, Jun'r, married the 5th November, 1685, their sone John, borne 4th Sept'r, 1686 ; son Robert, borne 22d December, 1688 ; Prissillah, borne 11th March, 1689-90 ; sone Benj'n, borne 27th Sept'r 1692; Christian, borne 19th March '94.

Hannah Buffington, daughter of Thomas Buffington, Jun'r & Hannah his wife, born May 11, 1701.

Hana, daughter of Sam'l Cutler, by Eliza his wife December 1655, their daughter Abigall borne 11th mo. '56 ; daughter Sarah, born 23d 10th mo. '58

Anna, daughter of Willim Curtis, by Alice his wife, born 30th August, 1658 : their daughter Sarah, born 13th 8th mo., 60 and dyed 25th 8th mo., '60 ; son Will'm, borne ye 26th 10mo. '62 ; son Jo'n, borne 14th May, 1666. Abigaile borne about the 15 August, 1664.

Christopher Croe (or Cros) and Deliverance Bennet were married by Maj. Hathorne the 8th October, 1657 ; their dau. Hanna bo 10th 7th mo 165–.

Jon Collens & Mahetabell Giles were maried by Major Hathorne ye 9th 1st mo., 1658-59.

Humphrey Coomes maried to Bathsheaba Rayment by Capt. Marshall, ye 29th 5th mo., 1659.

Henry Cooke maried to Judith Birdsale, June, 1639 ; their son Isaack borne ye 3d 2d mo., 1640 ; son Samuell bo 30th 7th mo., 1641 ; da'r Judith bo 15th 7th mo., '43 ; Rachell bo 25th 7th mo., 1645 ; John bo 6th 7th mo., 1647 ; Mary & Martha bo 15th 7th mo., '50 ; Henry borne 30th 10th mo., 1652 ; Eliza bo September '54, & deceased. Hana bo Sept'r, 1658 ; Henry Cooke deceased 25th December, 1661. (viz the father.)

Frances Collens his da'r Sarah bo by Hana his wife, 13th 3d mo., '60 ; da'r Christian bor in Aprill, 1665 ; son John borne August, '67.

Richard Curtise his son Caleb bo by Sara his wife ye 24th 7th mo., '46 ; their son Samuell 1st 2d mo., '51 ; son Richard bo 14th 12 mo., '52 ; da'r Sara bo 19th 1st mo., '5– ; da'r Hanna ye 16th 7th mo., '56 ; son John 2d 12th mo., '58, & dyed ye 28th 5th mo., '59 ; their son John bo 4th 4th mo., '60, & dyed 4th 7th mo., '60 ; dau'r Mary borne 11th 12th mo., '62.

Humphrey Coomes his da'r Hana bo by Barsheba his wife, ye 26th 3d mo , '60

Sam'l Cutler, son of Sam'l Cutler & Elizabeth his wife, borne at Salem, 1661 ; Ebenezer, son of ye aforesd S., borne at Salem, 1664.

John Croad & Elizabeth Price were marryed by Maj. Hathorne, 17th 1st mo., '58 ; theire da'r Eliza bo 21st 8th mo., '61 ; theire son Jon borne 14th 4th mo., '63 ; Da Hanna

borne 14th July, '65; son Jonathan borne ye 17th 11th mo., 1667.

Giles Coree his da'r Deliverance borne by Margaret his wife ye 5th 6th mo., '58.

Joshua Connant his son Joshua bo by Seeth his wife ye 15th 4th mo., '57.

William Cantiebury deceased ye 1st 4th mo., '63.

Deborah Clearke deceased 16th March, '60, da'r of Will'm Clearke, vintner.

Richard Camplin dyed ye 23d April, '62.

Nath l Carrell his Da'r Mary by Mary his wife, bo 20th 5th mo., '62.

To be Continued.

A GENEALOGICAL RAMBLE.

Several days since, in company with a friend who has spent much time in genealogical research pertaining to his own family, we spent a very pleasant afternoon in the vicinity of the Danvers Alms House, always profuse in charming summer sights. This neighborhood affords a pleasant rambling place for those who occasionally stroll away from the city, and yet who feel no particular interest in the locality from any ancestral associations. Those who are averse to walking the full distance to this place, can find exactly the accommodation they need in the South Reading Branch Railroad train, which leaves the depot in Salem at fifteen minutes before three in the afternoon, and which stops at the signal station near the mill of Mr. Buffum, about half a mile this side of the Alms-house.

The famous boulder, known as "Ship Rock," is very near to this station, and is attainable over a somewhat hilly and uneven foot-path extending a short distance to the right. This huge rock, which must weigh many tons, is visible to travellers upon the railroad, lifting its top above the trees, though in such a manner as perhaps would fail to convey a true idea of its size. Like most of the natural wonders which are named for real things, its resemblance to a ship can be perceived only by a compromise of facts with the imagination, which, having been duly accomplished, the visitor can easily distinguish the bow from the stern, and perhaps trace out, to his own satisfaction, a tolerably fair model of a hull. The rock rests upon a very small base, a large part of it extending along parallel with the ground, yet a few inches above it; in one place the space being sufficient to admit of the passage of a small child. This boulder is the property of the Essex Institute, which society has taken the steps necessary to make this natural curiosity an attractive point of interest, and to exhibit its large dimensions in the most advantageous manner. An iron ladder has been constructed upon it, with chains to serve the purpose of maintaining the equilibrium in the labor of ascending. The top commands a good view, over the trees, of distant scenery, including Salem and South Danvers, the prominent structures of which stand forth to the vision very conspicuously.

The familiar mill, on the opposite side of the railroad track, now owned by Mr. James N. Buffum, stands upon or near the spot where the first sawmill in Danvers (owned by a man named Very,) was erected. The meadow from whence the water which furnishes the power for this mill is derived, is flowed by a brook which runs from Cedar Pond, which is about half a mile above the alms-house. It is near this pond and the alms-house, where the original ancestor, in this country, of those who bear the name of *Very*, once lived and owned a considerable tract of land. The identity of the locality is indicated by extracts from old wills, which mention "*Ceader Pond*" with some frequency. The will of Bridget (Very) Giles, made in 1668, mentions "a ten acre lot, also meadow land both sides of *the brook;* also house and land," &c. In 1675, Bridget Giles, widow, grants unto Eleazer Giles, her son, husbandman, "all the upland and meadow formerly owned by Edward Giles of Salem, my husband, twenty acres as far as the corner of my son, John Giles." In 1679 Eliezer Giles sold J. King ten acres bounded with land of Samuel Very; and, in 1681, the same person sold Wm. Lord two acres of meadow "*on Ceader Pond,*" bounded on Samuel Very's farm. Samuel Very, son of Bridget Very, in his will in 1683, gives to Alice (Woodis,) his wife, his dwelling house in Salem, with outhousing, orchards, &c.; also speaking of two pieces of meadow next the river (or pond,) before his house on the south side, and likewise of other land bordering on other parts of the river, or pond.

The lands here indicated are all in this vicinity; and the original house where Bridget Very,—who came from England with her two sons, and afterwards married a Giles,—lived, was on a road which extended from the rear of the alms-house to the Kings' estate. This road has long been closed and merged in a common lot of wood and shrubbery;

but the indications of the cellar of the old Very house still remain, and was pointed out to us by an elderly man connected with the alms-house, who well remembered the land as the "Very lot." The subjoined brief account of this family may prove interesting to the genealogical readers as well as to those who are directly or indirectly connected. It was prepared by a descendant, (Rev. Jones Very,) who has a full record of the family from the original emigrant, which will probably soon be printed in the Historical Collections. N. A. H.

THE VERY FAMILY.

This family may be traced back to Bridget Very, who came from England with her two sons, Samuel and Thomas, and a daughter Mary. They probably came from Salisbury. The name of Very, together with that of Verin, (which is also an early Salem name,) is often mentioned on the Salisbury records. See Mass. His. Col., vol. X., 3d series.) Bridget Very was born about 1600. She was a member of the first Church in Salem in 1648. She lived, together with her son, Samuel Very, on the north side of Cedar Pond, and of the brook running from it, about sixty rods from the Danvers Alms House, where they owned a large tract of land. She was married a second time to Edward Giles of Salem, a member of the first Church in 1636; who also resided here, as did their children, Mehitable, Remember, Eleazer and John Giles. On this spot her descendants resided for a century perhaps, as her own and her son's will, and the deeds of the land, as well as local tradition show. Some of those who bear the name of Very, still live in different parts of the town of Danvers. Most of them, however, moved to Salem, leaving the pursuits of husbandry to become seamen. Many of that name have been shipmasters in Salem. Those who bear the name of Giles have lived mostly in Beverly and Gloucester. The oldest stone in the South Danvers Burying Ground is that which bears the name of James Giles,—a grandson of Bridget Giles. It is probably the oldest in the State erected to one so young. It contains the following inscription upon the headstone:—

Here lyeth ye body of James Gyles, aged about 10 years. Deceased ye 20 of May, 1689.

On the footstone is this beautiful epitaph:

Mind not the grave, where his dear dust is laid;
But bliss above, whither his soul's conveyed.

I have found no other memorials to mark the remains of any of that early date. The above mentioned stones were probably procured from England. It was the custom in Danvers, at that early period, for families to bury on their own farms, with only a rough stone at the head and at the foot of the grave. One of these ancient burial places is still to be seen on the Putney farm, at Brookdale, about three miles from where the Verys lived. These two families were related to one another. The following lines, written by the Rev. Washington Very, after a visit to the former place, are so applicable also to the latter, that I here transcribe them.

Lines on the Old Putney Burial Place, in Danvers.

Sleep on, sleep on, beneath the sod
Which oft your weary feet have pressed;
Forgot by man, but not by God,
Ye lie unknown, though not unblest.

Sleep on—though high above your grave
No sculptured marble meets the eye;
Here the green birch trees rustling wave,
And vines in tangled mazes lie.

Sleep on among these wooded hills—
Beholders of your joys and woes;
Another's thirst now slake these rills,
Another's voice this echo knows.

Sleep on—though lands and wealth are left,
And all that earthly sense could give;
Of nothing have ye been bereft,
If but your souls have learned to live.

Sleep—till the morning sunbeams play
All lovely round this smiling height,
Then wake to that e'erlasting day,
That knows no sorrow, darkness, night.

August, 1847.

Samuel Very, the oldest son of Bridget Very, was one of the Narragansett soldiers, and received a grant of land on the Sowhegin River. Jonathan Marsh, who married his daughter Mary, and John Giles, the grandson of Bridget Giles, were wounded in the celebrated battle with the Indians at Haverhill, Aug. 29th, 1708. A number also of this family were revolutionary soldiers.

In visiting the spot where Bridget Very and her descendants so early located themselves, and so long resided, I found that it still bore the name of the "Very lot." And I was shown by an aged man the cellar where the first house had stood. No house had been there since his recollection, but the stones were still there, overrun with blackberry vines.—There, too, was the well, closed now by a stone. A few old moss-covered apple trees, in the midst of a new growth of oaks and pines, showed where, two centuries ago, the strong hands and brave hearts of the early settlers had cleared the land, and made them a home.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM FROM 1626 TO 1740—WITH A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH—A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

Continued from page 91.

From 1661 to 1684 the colonial government struggled against the application of the laws of trade, particularly between 1678 and '83 — The indefatigable, mischief-making Randolph, who was selected in 1677 or 8, by the Commissioners of Customs to act as Inspector (of customs) in the colony, and make seizures and bring information for breaches of the acts of trade, kept the colony in a ferment during the latter period; and made, according to his own statement, eight voyages from Old England to New England in nine years, in furtherance of his watch upon the colony. Being generally condemned in costs in the colonial courts upon the actions he brought, and being thereby, as he represents, a great sufferer, he no doubt clearly saw, and as faithfully reported, that unless Massachusetts was deprived of her charter, and with it her power of choosing her Governor and Admiralty officers, it would be in vain to hope for obedience to the laws of trade from the colony. The way he was treated in 1681 when he came over with a commission from the Crown for Collector and Surveyor and Searcher of Customs—the worse than silent contempt which greeted him on arrival at Boston, doubtless had their weight in the final proceedings against the charter. In 1689, however, all this came back upon his head, and he narrowly escaped with his life for the mischief he had done.

Perhaps to him, more than any other man, Massachusetts was indebted for the subsequent loss of her charter and other liberties. A shrewd observer of men and passing events—keen, indefatigable, and perhaps unscrupulous—he knew when, where, and how to strike the colony, and was well understood in turn by the colonial authorities, who excepted him from bail in 1689, as a capital offender, and would have executed him probably, but for the order of Nottingham for his removal with others to England for an examination there.—During this long struggle for the charter liberties, civil as well as commercial, the clergy nobly led the van in opposition to royal tyranny, and when Massachusetts fell, she fell with the sword of the spirit in her grasp, and her face resolutely towards the foe. The ancient Puritanism of the colony seemed to die in this struggle—but merely in seeming, for it was only asleep—pleasant, moreover, with dreams of Freedom, and it finally arose as the giant refreshed with slumber, and as the strong man prepared to run his race.

In 1668 "a maritime code" is promulgated by the Gen'l Court, containing 27 sections,

comprehending the rights of owners, masters and mariners, their duties to and contracts with each other, and various provisions relating to pilots, marine losses, accidents, neglects and wrecks. As a preamble, the Gen'l Court acknowledge that the navigation and maritime affairs of Mass. have grown to be a considerable interest, and the well management thereof of great concernment to the public weal. In 1682, Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury and Salisbury were *annexed by Gen'l Court to Salem, as the Port of Entry, and no native vessels from foreign parts are to break bulk before entry with the Naval Officer, on penalty of confiscation of ship and goods ; and vessels passing from port to port in the colony are to take permits from the Naval Officer. Any vessel taking plantation commodities to give bonds, or show certificate of bond under penalty of confiscation. The naval office was to be open for entry and clearing from 10 to 12 A. M., and from 2 to 4 P. M.

In 1684 Benj'n Gerrish is appointed to be naval officer of Salem, and annexed ports, instead of the late Hilliard Veren, and to demand and receive the powder money of all masters of ships and other vessels according to their respective burdens, giving an account to the surveyor General yearly, or oftener, as the law directs. At this time Boston, Charlestown, and Salem are the *three* commercial ports of the State. Salem as late as 1736 was evidently second in importance after Boston in (commercial) wealth, as she pays the second highest sum of the £9000 fund and security tax then levied on the State—Boston paying £1620, and Salem the next largest sum £258—15—0, or between a sixth and seventh of that of Boston.

The Customs levied by the Colonial Government from 1635 to 1740, are a curious study. In a former note in this article, an abstract of several of these customs has been given. More yet remain on the Colony Records, but some of them are somewhat obscure, and some appear to be local. The general principle running through them, appears to be, that the articles needed in the Colony—of prime necessity—shall be favored or free,—such articles as salt, sheep's wool, cotton wool, fish, gunpowder, money, plate, and bullion. These are particularly favored by law in 1668–9.—The customs on wine and liquors seem to be a double one ; 1st, the regular import duty, and 2dly, the privilege of retailing them, which privilege or license was hired of the State by retailers, for longer or shorter periods, the State not permitting the importers or wholesale dealers to sell by retail less than a quarter cask, in order that those purchasing the privilege to retail, might have no competition from any other quarter. This is one explanation of the phrase "farming out the customs," which one meets with in the old History of Mass.—It was simply a sale of the exclusive privilege of selling wines and liquors by retail, in certain districts or places. Occasionally *other* privileges were also farmed out, as in 1668 we see (in the Colony Records,) that the Treasurer of the country, with three assistants, is authorized "to farme let" for the use of Massachusetts for one or more years, not exceeding three : 1st, the import of wine, brandy and rum ; 2d, the benefit of beaver, furs, and peltry with the Indians ; 3d, the rates of drawing wine from the vintners ; 4th, rates upon beer, cider, ale and mum from public sellers ; 5th, the benefit of selling ammunition to the Indians.

This farming out of the customs began as early, certainly, as 1644. Mr. Edward Rauson then paid for "ye rent due for wine drawen in ye countrey, £107 10s, for a yeare." In 1645 an act is passed, imposing certain duties on sack, French wines, &c , in which it is ordered that the duty shall be paid "in money, good merchantable beaver, or ye best of ye same wine at ye merchants' price." The Auditor General then had the care of the custom of wine, and perhaps all liquors. In 1648 and 9, we see the customs again let out to cer-

*Salisbury was shortly afterwards taken out of this list.

tain parties in Boston and elsewhere. In 1649 certain duties are levied on goods imported from Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, and they are to be entered with the Auditor-General, who is to act as Collector. It was probably a Deputy under him, who was Collector of the "*French House*" Custom House in Salem, mentioned by *Felt* as having been located on the South River, in 1645. When Hilliard Veren was appointed Collector in Salem, in 1663, he probably reported to the Auditor-General as Head Quarters. In 1684, Benj. Gerrish is to report to the Surveyor-General.

Down to 1675 a committee are appointed to farm out the customs, but how much longer this plan continued, we know not. It appears to have been abandoned before 1700. About that *time our commerce and Custom House seem to have come under the direct control of the English authorities, thus ending for the time the long struggle against the Navigation Laws,—a not very satisfactory change, however, for the Colonists.

In 1668 two per cent. is levied, as duty on general merchandize. In 1669 one penny on every 20 shillings worth. This latter is the same duty, we presume, as Bradstreet says was levied in 1680, and continued in force until 1726, (excepting English goods at that time,) and even later. The duties seem to be heaviest throughout on liquors of various kinds, sugar, spices; tobacco, molasses and dye stuffs. Though the Colonists seem not to have exported manufactured goods, except wooden ware and kindred materials, down to 1720 or 30 say; yet they manufactured domestic goods for their own use, and most probably paid but a small tax to the English manufacturers, who complain about it.

Some of the early Mass. laws concerning ships and shipping are perhaps lost. Some of those which yet remain, referring to the discipline on board ships, are quaint, and suggestive of the early days of New England—having sometimes a reason in them, which, though dimly seen by us, was yet acknowledged to be important then. In 1663 a law

*In 1700, Mr. John Higginson of Salem recommends to his brother, the direct trade from Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places to England, rather than Salem as the place to make returns to England; and Bilboa, Cadiz, Oporto and the streights in Europe as places to make direct returns to England. According to Mr. H. the Navigation laws were obeyed in Salem, in 1700, as he says "we trade with all parts, where the law doth not prohibit." These facts indicate that the trade from Salem, direct to England, was then unprofitable, and profit could alone be made by carrying Sugar, Molasses, Cotton, Tobacco, &c. from Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Virginia, to England, or Fish to Spain and the streights. The English Laws had already begun to cramp and injure our trade. They were felt very seriously when the gold and silver, which should have returned from Spain, Portugal and the Streights for our fish, went to England to pay for goods. The same policy prevented the Colonists from bringing into Mass the coin from their West India trade; and as a natural consequence, specie became alarmingly scarce in Mass. The trade and the coin centred in England to our prejudice.

In 1696, the affairs of the English Plantation were entrusted permanently to Commissioners, who formed the Board of Trade, and thereafter Massachusetts was rapidly subjected to the Laws of Trade of England. The Governor, being appointed by the King, was sworn to see those laws obeyed, and ample powers were conferred on the officers of the revenue to the same end. From that date to 1740, Massachusetts was made the victim of the Trade Monopoly of England, which sought by various laws to destroy her industry, impair her Colonial trade, render her interests subordinate to the Sugar Colonies and Slave labor, and herself dependent on and indebted to England. Massachusetts was in consequence much crippled in her Colonial Commerce, and an attempt was made to cut her off also from the French and Dutch West Indies, to which she had traded (says Bancroft) in an humble way after the peace of Utrecht in 1713. The English manufacturers and merchants united in suppressing her commercial freedom, and her manufactures—excepting of course the freedom which was taken as against law, and the *domestic* manufactures persisted in by the prudence and economy and independence of the people.

passed, by which no gun was to be fired off on board ship after sunset, or on the Sabbath, under 20s penalty. This may have had reference to false alarms.* By the same law no healths† were to be drunken, by day or night, on board ships in harbor, under penalty of 20s. This law seems to have been the one in force in 1663, according to Felt's Annals.—The laws in regard to runaway sailors were stringent. A glance at the "Maritime Code" of 1668, will show this. (See Colony Records, 1668.) Between 1680 and '93 an Act was passed for the regulation of seamen, which was unrepealed in 1737, wherein seamen are exempted from arrest for debt, while belonging to any ship, and both they and the masters of vessels are punished, if such masters entice them from any ship upon which they have agreed to go a voyage—the master by a penalty of £5, and the seamen by a forfeiture of a month's pay. Seamen deserting were to be imprisoned. By this law it appears that a book was sometimes used by the masters of vessels, as the shipping paper, and was called the "Master's Book." It seems the law exempted sailors from arrest, because they were often taken off from voyages "by arrest or restraint of debt, *or pretence thereof*"

We find but little information in regard to the rate of the ‡wages of seamen in the early days of Mass. The rate of wages paid farm laborers in England from 1625 to 1740, varied from 6½ pence per day (in 1625.) to 10 pence per day in 1740, and dld not amount to a shilling or upwards until between 1760 and '80. So *Ruding* calculates in his annals of the Coinage of Great Britain. In Massachusetts, the rates of labor in 1630 were for various master traders, 16d per day; common workmen and laborers 12d per day, with 6d for meat and drink. This was soon repealed,—perhaps as being too high a value for labor. In 1633, however, master carpenters, sawyers, masons, clapboards ryvers, bricklayers, tylars, joyners, wheelewrights, mowers, &c., are not to have above 2s per day, "findeing themselves dyett," and not above 14d per day if boarded. The penalty for every day's violation of this order on either side, was 5s. All inferior workmen of such occupations were to be paid such wages as the Constable of the place, and two other inhabitants he shall choose, shall appoint.—The best sort of laborers shall have 18d, if without diet, and 8d with—the same penalty to attach to a violation of the law. The wages of inferior laborers, were likewise to be referred to the Constable and his chosen two. Master tailors were to have 12d, and inferior sort 8d, if dieted. (See Colony Records, Oct. Term of Gen'l Court, 1633.) By such laws it

*The reason of this law does not distinctly appear, except so far as the Sabbath is concerned. It cannot have any reference to a state of affairs existing, like that of 1644-5, when the authorities had to prevent the ships of the opposing English factions from fighting in our harbors. It may, however, have reference to the excitement and alarm preceding the visit of the Royal Commissioners.

†The law against drinking "healths" may refer to drinking the *King's* health. The Colonists were then dreading the incroachments of the King upon their charter and liberties, and may have thus shown their independence. They were staunch Republicans, and did not wish perhaps to hear even the name of the King, always fearing the loss of their liberties by monarchical hands.

In 1650, (as appears by the Colony Records,) sailors could not be sued for drinking debts unless guaranteed by their owners.

‡ It appears from old Letters of Instructions from ship owners, that seamen on foreign voyages had then certain privileges—that is some space allotted them in vessels for their own adventures, perhaps half a ton, less or more. This custom was somewhat similar to the joint interest that Fishermen held with the owners of the Fishing craft, in the catch of fish. We believe that until within a few years this privilege of sailors continued. Perhaps owing to this privilege, the rate of sailors wages may not have been as high in old times as it otherwise would have been. According to Sam'l Browne's Instructions to Touzell, 1727, (Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, 1st vol., No. 2d, page 66) it appears that the sailors were to pay their proportions of all foreign permissions to trade, according to their privileges.

would seem that the wages of labor in Mass. were generally higher than those paid in the old country from 1629 to 1740; though the N. E. shilling after 1652, (where this shilling is used as indicating the value of labor,) must be considered as at a discount (when compared with the then English shilling,) of about 25 per cent. It may be, however, that the colonial coin, though at this discount, would buy more of the products of the field or sea than the English coin (of the same nominal value) in England. The rates of wages paid common laborers in Mass. can thus be reasonably estimated, and perhaps those paid seamen also, though but little evidence in regard to the latter seems to remain.

In 1677 (according to an old paper in the Hollingworth family,) a Hugh Woodbury charges Wm. Hollingworth £3 03s 0d, as wages for a voyage to Virginia. Whether this is for the whole voyage (out and return,) does not appear, nor whether it was for total wages, or simply a balance of account. From the pages of an old memorandum book of Capt. Samueil Ingersoll's, (found among the English papers.) and under date of 1694, (March 19,) we learn that the wages paid on board the "slupe [sloop] Prudent Marah" [Mary] (belonging most probably to Philip English.) were as follows:—Sam'll Ingersoll, Captain £4 10s 0d "per munth;" Will Woods, mate, £3 5s 0d, do: Abram Gale, £2 15s 0d, do.; Richard Ingersoll, £2 05s 0d, do.; John Rese, or Rose, £1 05s 0d, do; the boy, £1 10s 0d, do. This would give the captain $15 per mo., the mate $10.84 do., Gale $9 17 do., Richard Ingersoll $7.50 do., Rese or Rose $4 16 do., the boy $5 00 do. This calculation is based upon the value of the Pine Tree shilling, as assayed at the U. S. mint, and kindly furnished us by Matthew A. Stickney, Esq. We reduced these wages to shillings of the specie currency of Mass., which, by the U. S. assay, have an intrinsic value of about 16⅔ cents. As there is no evidence that these wages were to be paid but in specie, we have calculated them as to be paid in specie, and the Colonial pound to contain 20 shillings. at 16⅔ cents the shilling.

In 1713 we find Capt. Wm. English, in his account, being on a voyage to Connecticut, credits his owner with payment of several payments of monthly wages to seamen. The lowest is £2 02s 0d; the highest £2 15s 0d; while the larger number receive £2 10s 0d. Whether these sums were paid in the silver or paper currency of Mass, at that time, does not appear, nor is it of much consequence, as the paper money of the Province was then at a very slight discount. In 1714, according to the Portlidge Bill of the sloop *Sally*, of Salem, Peter Henderson, master, the captain received £4 10s per mo., the mate £3 5s, and the two men £2 10s each do.; to be paid perhaps in paper currency. In *1728, according to the receipts of several sailors of the Briganteen Edeavor, bound for Bilboa, it appears that 87 shillings was their month's advance pay.—Whether paid in silver or bills, does not appear. If in bills, it must have been at over fifty per cent loss, the bills then standing in the ratio of 17 shillings paper to the oz. of silver, which latter, in 1710 to 1713, was equal to only 8 shillings of paper.

The wages of those serving on board of the country sloop of Massachusetts, (perhaps a Revenue Boat.) from 1730 to 1734, were:—for the captain £6 per month: for the mate £4 per month; and three sailors each £3 per month. As these were very probably picked men, they commanded a higher rate of wages than ordinary officers or seamen, we may presume. If paid in paper money, they must have taken it at a great discount, for in 1734 16 shillings in bills would not purchase 5

* In a deed bearing date of 1728, and kindly loaned us by Dr. Benj. F. Browne of Salem, one of the Parties (Sam'l Browne) agrees upon a certain contingency to pay to his sister (Mary King) "Fifty pounds in good Bills of Credit of the Province, or Silver money at eighteen shillings per ounce."

We presume the above must be understood as at 18 shillings of paper currency per oz. of silver.

shillings in silver, and from 1730 to 1734, nineteen shillings in paper, were considered equivalent to about 8 shillings in coin.

Fish being the great staple of Salem, as of the colony, was of course the early object of the care and attention of the legislature.—Laws were passed protecting it as well as the fishermen. The curing of it seems to have become at last a distinct business, left to those called shoremen, who received the fish on return of the fishers and cured and dried it. It then passed under the review of the cullers, who were sworn officers, certainly after 1700, and was divided into merchantable, middling, and refuse—also scale fish. The first two went to Spanish and the first class markets—the refuse to the slaves in the West Indies, and perhaps the poorer classes of Europe. The fish from Acadia (Nova Scotia) (Cape Sable fish) was in great demand in Bilboa, Spain, as being a superior fish, and was largely shipped there. Marblehead sent this description of fish to Spain even after our American Revolution. In 1670 the legislature denounce the use of Tortuga (West India) salt on account of its impurity, and fish cured by it was made unmerchantable by law.

Winter Island and the adjoining Neck seem to have been especially devoted in Salem to the fisheries—Winter Island being in 1695, and yet later, the head quarters, to judge by history, tradition and old papers. How far Salem may have been engaged in the whale fishery is dubious. Some of her sons may have gone down to Cape Cod on such an errand, for the Cape as late as 1714 was so largely visited by cod and whale fishers, that the General Court that year made all the province lands there a precinct, and the visitors to it (fishermen) support a settled minister at £60 per annum, by a tax of four pence a week levied on each seaman, to be paid by the master of the boat for the whole company. This was in the days when no man was permitted to be absent from church a month, if in health, without presentation before the Grand Jury, and punishment by fine of twenty shillings!

In order to protect herself and commerce, Salem early erected a *Fortress. Felt says the company (in London) had one built in 1629, and that it was erected on Naugus' Head. This was Darby Fort, and was well provided by the company with large cannon and a cannoneer, he says. In 1634 the General Court grant Salem "the use of two olde ‡sakers" landed from the ship Neptune, for which they are to provide carriages. This may be for their fort, or land service. In 1646 Salem had "divers great pieces" mounted, and one mounted mortar, and perhaps had in 1648 one of the "*Leather guns*" which our General Court ordered the "major general" in 1647 to procure from England, which "*if found good and profitable, may give light and encouragement for ye procuring or making of more.*"—This well illustrates the prudence of our fathers, who knew that the Indians dreaded artillery, and that *leather* guns being very light, could be transported through the woods, swamps, morasses, and over the rocky hills of a new country with great celerity, and would produce among the ignorant Indians a panic equal to that of regular artillery. It was a Napoleonic strategy based on the known effects

*In 1628-9 among the articles to be provided and apparently for our fort, were 8 pieces of land ordnance, with 5 more already provided, namely, two demi culverins, weighing 3000 pounds and three sackers (sacres) weighing 2500—with one whole culverin and two small pieces—iron drakes.

‡The *Saker* (or *Sacre*) was a piece of ordnance deriving its name from *Sacre* (French) a hawk of the Falcon kind. It appears to have been a peculiar cannon. Dampier in his voyages, 1688, says,—"Of guns the long sacre is most esteemed." To judge by some old accounts of spoils taken or lost in war, the *saker* or *sacre* was often used as field ordnance—a species of field artillery.

The loan of these guns to Salem suggests, though it may not refer to, an arming of the sea-ports on account of the requisition of the colonial charter by the authorities in England. The infant colony was in trouble in 1633-4 through the malice of its enemies in England.—(Bancroft Hist. U. S. vol. 1 pp. 405-6.)

of genuine artillery upon the natives—real guns first, and sham ones afterwards.

In 1653 Salem is granted out of the next country levy (colony tax) £100 towards their fortifications. *Felt* thinks a fort was commenced on Winter Island in 1643—says that Salem is granted a "barrell of powder" in 1652 for saluting ships on necessary occasions—and that in 1655 Winter Island is appropriated for the use of the fort, and that, as this was not finished, every man refusing to work there was to be fined *three shillings* a day. The grant of £100 to Salem out of the next country levy in 1653, was perhaps made on account of the panic then prevalent, that there was a conspiracy of the Indians throughout the country to cut off the English, which afterwards proved to be unfounded. Salem at that time had very probably another fort, if not two, as well as palisades to keep out Indians on the land side, or if not regular forts, yet block-houses.

In 1664 the whole colony was in a state of alarm, not only from civil causes and misfortunes, but also from the visitation of comets, both that year and the year before, which were regarded as the harbingers of change and wo, and the monitors of a Divine wrath to human guilt. The General Court seemed to share the panic produced by these mysterious celestial visitants, and, being oppressed with many misfortunes, appointed the 22d of June as a day of humiliation, stating, among other reasons for so doing, that they were "not unmindful of the alarum sent from Heaven given us by the awful appearance of comets, both this and the last year, warning us to be watchful and quickened unto the discharge of the several duties incumbent upon us respectively."—Acting upon her *misfortunes, including the Dutch war, whose injustice was generally felt and acknowledged, Massachusetts begins to look after her fortifications, and in 1666 Salem is ordered, as one of her ports, to erect a battery on some convenient place upon its harbor, as it is too open and exposed. The work is to be done under the advice and direction of the major general, and Salem is to have an abatement of the country rate for the purpose. Capt. George Corwin is to improve all means to speedily effect this work, and the committee of the militia of Salem are desired to assist him. *Felt* says that each male above 16 was required to labor in his turn at the work under penalty of 3s a day; and that in 1667 the great guns are ordered to be carried to the fort with speed. They have heard in Salem perhaps of the threatened visit of the Dutch fleet which ravaged Virginia.

In 1673 our fort is to be refitted, and "the great artillery" prepared, and all be done as "this juncture of time requires." So says *Felt*. This "juncture" in all probability, was

*One of these misfortunes, probably, was the expected visit and troublesome efforts of the royal commissioners. They arrived in July 1664, and by their intrigues with disaffected people in the colonies, and even with Indians, did what was in their power to unsettle the authority of the General Court, and that in addition to their positive unjust demands upon the colony. The authorities treated them with independent deference, though the people seem to have abominated them. Various stories were set in circulation as to their motives in coming to Mass., the effect of which was to cast ricicule and odium upon them and their pretensions, and which the people, perhaps, believed. Their manner of acting, moreover, justified grave suspicions.

The authorities at that time treated the commissioners boldly as well as wisely, resisting, disputing and gaining time by a wearisome correspondence, hoping, perhaps, for a change or revolution in England. The commissioners were an illegal, unwarranted body, according to Bancroft.

The fleet which bore the commissioners to Boston had undoubtedly a double duty to perform—first, to impress the colonists with the power of England, and secondly, to reduce the Dutch settlements on the Hudson. The Colonial Authorities expected violence from this fleet—the armed seizure of their Charter—and thus were placed in the suspense between Civil injustice on the one hand, and armed wrong on the other—a misfortune indeed, and one of the causes, most probably, of the appointed "day of humiliation."

the fear of a Dutch fleet, as England had declared a second and still more unjustifiable war against Holland on the 17th March, 1672.—Had it not been for the great naval engagements near home during this war, and which prevented the Dutch from using their fleets extensively abroad, New England might, and probably would have received a warlike visit from De Ruyter, Brankert, or Van Tromp.

In 1682 our fortifications are reported by the Gen'l Court to be "very defective and unserviceable if occasion should require." This shows that King Philip's war, though so deadly a one for New England generally—about every eleventh family having been burned out, and an eleventh part of the militia throughout New England (according to *Trumbull*) having been slain in it,—did not alarm the commercial towns much, or the fortifications therein would have been in better repair, especially as Philip's war closed practically in 1676. The Gen'l Court, moreover, further order in 1682 that the Committees of Militias and Selectmen of Salem with the advice of the Major General, are empowered to repair their fortifications, or build a new fort or forts, and the said Committees and Selectmen are empowered to levy on the town and inhabitants the sum needed to effect this. This committee seem to have made their report to the Gen'l Court, whereupon Salem is ordered to mount its great guns, and upon good serviceable carriages, and provide a competent number of good common baskets, to be filled, to secure those who stand by said great guns if occasion requires them to be used.

The closing reign of Charles 2d exhibited so many strides towards absolute power—so many fears for the safety of Protestantism—and involved so many losses of power and privileges to the colony, that the colonists may have felt themselves called upon to prepare for any change, The Republican spirit was rising again with resistless strength in England, not to clothe itself to be sure in Republican forms, but in constitutional monarchy, a modification of Republicanism, but of lower degree, with a king for protector, instead of a civilian. The colonists may have been on the alert, with an expectant faith in better days, and our Salem fort may have been repaired anew, and its great guns mounted in anticipation thereof. The 11 great guns and ammunition bought in 1690 by a committee seem to indicate a hope of their future need for freedom. In the same year (1690), the fort on Winter Island is repaired, and a breastwork thrown up in another place, according to Felt. In 1699 Winter Island fort was ca'led fort William. In 1714 we have in Salem a 20 gun fort which is most probably the Winter Island fort, and in 1742 a new fort with a platform for 16 guns, which Felt thinks was most probably erected on the heights of the Neck.

The early currency of Mass. colony—an important matter in its commerce and trade—seems during its first few years to have consisted of English coin, wampum (white, black and blue), Dutch coin, and Indian corn, wheat, rye, barley and peas, at certain stated rates per bushel. Live stock, beaver, bullets, (and still later gunpowder) were also currency. Up to 1652 taxes were often paid in such a currency. English coin, bullion and Spanish coin seem to have circulated in Mass. between 1640 and '52, also some Western Island money (Portuguese?). It seems some of the Spanish coin from the West Indies was of light weight Money being scarce in Mass. the colony, desiring and needing a standard currency, and that too without calling on England for it, in 1652 set up a *mint, and

*There seems to be some division of opinion among various writers as to the cause of the origin and reasons for a continuance of the Mass. Mint. *Randolph* (who was a keen investigator, but no friend to the Colonists,) states in 1676, that Massachusetts struck off her coin as of 1652, to commemorate the era of her independence—the year in which she erected herself into a Commonwealth—subjected the adjacent Colonies to herself, and called the deputies

gave liberty to any who had bullion, plate or Spanish silver to bring it in, and have it coined into colonial currency.

To judge by the order of the Gen'l Court in 1652, the 12d, 6d and 3d silver pieces then coined were to be of the same alloy (purity) as the sterling currency pieces of the same class in England, but were to be about a *quarter* less in value, so that they should not be shipped out of the country, as the foreign coin was, which had been brought into Massachusetts. Foreign debtors, of course, wanted to be paid in money, and not the colonial produce, and this drained the colony of money, though it had supplies of other articles. In order to make the currency of 1652 the standard currency, it was declared to be the current money of the colony, and none other was to pass, except English, unless by the consent of those receiving it.

The current shilling of England was worth about 22 cents—the Colonial *shilling about 17—the lesser pieces proportionably. The difference in value between our coin and that of the same class in England, was ordered for the purpose of retaining our own money at home. The difference of exchange between England and the colony soon amounted to 25 per cent. against Massachusetts,—a quarter part. The coinage of these moneys was continued as of the same date for many years, (Hutchinson says) and therefore it is very difficult to tell their real dates. This was done perhaps to conceal from the authorities in England the fact that they (the Colonists) were issuing their money year after year, when repeatedly ordered to stop coining. So there got finally to be as many shillings of the date of †1652

into her Councils. An English authority states that the act of coinage by Mass. was not very offensive to England, and though mentioned as one ground of complaint in the action to vacate the Colonial Charter, was not by any means the principal complaint. Hutchinson, however, says that Charles 2d forbid Massachusetts from coining, and the Colony Records show that the commissioners certainly complained of it in 1665. It is reasonably certain that Massachusetts was compelled to supply herself with a currency, even if it originated in a spirit of independence, and the compulsion was also spiced with some independence, as she continued to coin as long as she had the power, and in spite of warnings and threats. Her money, however, mainly went to pay the debts of English merchants—to satisfy their monopolizing avarice, and even at this day the Pine Tree money is said to be much more easily obtained, as a curiosity, in England, than in Massachusetts.

*Through the kindness of Matthew A. Stickney, Esq., whose research into our Colonial currency is well known, as well as his splendid collection of early New England and American currencies, we are enabled to state the value of the old Pine Tree Shilling. As assayed at the U. S. mint, it was found to weigh from 65 to 67 grains, proved to be 926 one-thousandths fine, and its intrinsic value about 16⅔ cents. It will be easy, therefore, for any readers of this article to reduce for themselves the Colonial pounds and shillings mentioned therein to the modern currency—also to find the value of the old oz. of silver.

†It seems, according to a writer in the Mass. Hist. Coll., that coin was also issued by the State, as of the date of 1662. A late writer in the "Hist. Mag., and Notes and Queries," Vol. 3, No. 7, pages 197 to 202, discusses the subject of the Massachusetts Pine Tree money with great acumen, and judging from his remarks, which seem entirely reasonable, the original issue of that money was a step towards independence, and so intended. The original order of the General Court for coinage, orders simply the issue of coin, (as a sovereign State would,) with precautions only against fraud. It is well known that the Colonists desired of Cromwell to be set apart, as a separate kingdom. The royal Commissioners in 1665 charge this upon them, and Randolph in 1676 (whom Hollis calls a court spy on the Colony,) states that Massachusetts struck off her coin as of the date of 1652, *as being the era of her independence.* He does not mention the coinage of 1662, which coinage, however, the writer in the Hist. Magazine, and Notes and Queries, thus attempts to explain.

When Charles the 1st came in, (1660) he was incensed against the Colonists—among other things, on account of their coining money. They, seeing this, passed an order in 1662, which, while authorizing the re-issue of coins, gave a reason therefor viz., to answer the purpose of exchange. This the order of 1652 did not, but was a more imperative order. It therefore is most probable that the order of

as there are relics of the saints among Catholic collections.

In order to keep their coin at home, a *quarter part loss on it*—the difference in exchange,—was adopted, so that foreign returns should not be made in Colonial coin, and in addition to this, no person was to take out more than 20 shillings of it from the colony, on pain of the confiscation of his whole estate, and searchers were appointed in every port of entry, to see that this latter order was obeyed. The coin, however, naturally gravitated towards England as the centre of trade.

Massachusetts still suffered from a scarcity of coin. The merchants, perhaps, did not lack, and held their coin all the more closely, on account of its general scarcity, and the power which the possession of ready money gave them. Contracts for money, corn, cattle or fish, were by law in 1654 to be paid in kind or a kindred variety. This law, however, was repealed in *1670, and in 1672 our

1662 was intended to conciliate Charles so far, at least, as being a defence of their previous coinage. Moreover, the Pine Tree of this latter coinage is made bushy and broad, to resemble the famous Oak of Boscobel, in which Charles had hid himself from his enemies, and which had been topped but a year or two before his concealment therein. These circumstances induce the writer above mentioned to suppose that the coinage of 1662 was only a *ruse* on the part of the Colonial authorities to conciliate or blind Charles. The order of 1662 in regard to this coinage is said never to have been printed.

This writer further states that the device on the Pine Tree Money, viz. the double ring and Pine (Cedar) Tree, were taken, in all probability, from the prophet Ezekiel, and signified both *independence* and *growth*, and were a declaration of the independence of God's chosen people by the General Court. The Pine Tree was used, as being the nearest resemblance at hand to the Scriptural Cedar. They (the General Court) allowed the money to be *usually* called Pine Tree money, but it bore a deeper meaning to the initiated, and was the symbol of an independence, which, however, came not until about a hundred years later. It, however, shows what the aspirations and intentions of the colonial authorities were at that day.

We have given a brief sketch of some of the views of this writer—whose whole article is well worth attention from the keen philosophy of its research and spirit. We make the further suggestion that Sir Thomas Temple, when he told Charles the 2d that the flat and broad Pine Tree on the Colonial currency was the "Boscobel" Oak, may really have believed it to be so, for this, the Colonial authorities may have told him was the case, concealing, however their motives for so doing. They would hardly have trusted Temple, as a Royal Governor, with their whole secret, and it is evident that Temple points to the coin of 1662 as illustrative of the loyalty of the Colonists, which coin was struck off to conciliate Charles, and lull his jealousy to sleep. It appears as if Temple was somewhat used by the Colonial authorities, who were deep and wise enough to circumvent Macchiavelli himself, though for wiser and better purposes.

In further confirmation of the views of this writer, we may add that it is evident Massachusetts was regarded by her enemies as seeking independence *after* she had *apparently* submitted on her coin in 1662 to the King, for J. Curwine, in his letter on affairs of New England, 1663 or 4, (Coll. Maine Hist. Soc., Vol 1, page 301,) says, that at a meeting of the New Englanders at the Exchange, in London, (where Curwine then was) "Mr. Mavericke said before all the company, that New England were all rebels, and he would prove them so, and that he had given in to the Council so, &c." This was said in the presence of Col. Temple, who had been endeavoring to enlist the King in favor of the Colonists, and, to judge from Curwine's letter, in the presence also of Jeremiah Dummer, then the agent of Massachusetts in England. Mavericke understood the Colonists thoroughly. He was not deceived by their professions, or their assumed innocency in continuing their coinage in 1662; but his wisdom availed little against the Colonists, for the Power which protected them was not the King, but the King of Kings.

*The General Court, in order to favor debtors, and perhaps as against foreign creditors, passed a law in 1669, which "shutt up Booke debts" in 3 years—that is, outlawed them after that period. It was so strongly remonstrated against, and by native creditors, perhaps, that the time was extended three years more in 1672. Such laws show, however, the sufferings of the times. Massachusetts could not keep her own coin at home, nor the foreign coin

General Court give a certain value to foreign coin, as compared with their own standard, so as to increase their specie circulation; first affixing a peculiar stamp upon them, to show they were of the right alloy and value. In 1680 a free mint was proposed in Massachusetts—one in which no charge should be made to those sending bullion to be coined. It was not, however, adopted. It seems that at that time Massachusetts was coining but little money, and much of that was circulating in the other Colonies.

In 1685 our coin is said by the officers of the English mint to be 22½ per cent lighter than that of England. They ask the King, if the Boston mint is continued, to compel its issues to be made of the standard (English) value.—They notice the fact that there was no alteration of *date* upon the issues of colonial coin—all appearing as the coinage of 1652—a *ruse* of the authorities, perhaps, to blind the Home Government as to the fact of their still continuing to coin money after the date of 1652.

As late as 1694 corn, wheat, rye, barley, malt, oats and peas were appointed by General Court as currency, and taken at certain prices. Under the reign of Sir Edmund Andros the town of Hingham paid her country rate in *milk-pails*. In 1688, January 1st, the treasury report states the treasury funds to be "*Corn* remaining unsold £938-11-1. *Money* £1340-10-3." In 1672 shoes as well as grain passed in payment of debts in certain places. When grain, shoes, manufactures, &c., passed as currency, it seems to have been at times, with an abatement (in 1690 a third) and this shows the relative value of money in the old currency as a circulating medium.—In 1723 the products of the land and the sea, which had been renewedly current at the treasury for taxes, had ceased to be so received there, though again received some years afterwards.

Our currency was divided in 1693 into "pay—money, pay as money, and trusting. Pay was grain, pork, beef, &c., at the prices set by General Court. Money was pieces of eight, ryals, (Spanish coin) Boston or Bay shillings or good hard money, as sometimes silver coin is called; also wampum, viz: Indian beads which serves as change. Pay as money is provision aforesaid, one third cheaper than the Assembly set it, and trust, as they agree for the time." As an example of this the author gives the following:—"When the buyer comes to ask for a commodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he says, 'Is your pay ready?'" Perhaps the chap replies 'yes.' 'What do you pay in?' says the merchant. The buyer having answered, then the price is set; as suppose he wants a 6d knife—in pay it is 12; in pay as money 8d, and hard money its own value 6d." By this it would appear that purchasers in those days, paying with produce, paid a third more than even the legal rate of the currency.

The Massachusetts mint ceased its operations about 1686 say, and was never permitted again to issue its money. Our currency was then in a very poor state, nor was England herself very much better off in this respect. In 1695 England established the Bank of England to regulate her monetary affairs, which before that had been very distracted at times. Cromwell indeed had, with his customary energy, set about a reformation of the English currency, with a zeal kindred to that with which he had

brought into the Colony. It went to pay foreign creditors, who would only of course take money. This drove the Colony into adopting produce as currency. Massachusetts was much straitened by this policy—a policy which was gratifying however to the English merchants and manufacturers, as it kept the Colony poor, and therefore unable to compete with the mother country in commerce or trade. This policy became still worse in its evil fruits after the loss of the charter, and the accession of William to the throne—for the English manufacturers and merchants had then far greater power than before over the Colony—in the first place indirectly through the new charter, and then directly through the English laws of trade. In regard to the causes and effects of the depreciated currency of Massachusetts, see Bancroft's Hist. of U. S., Vol. 3, pp. 103-4.

entered into civil reforms, and had introduced a skilful overseer from France to attend to the coining at the English mint; but from various causes his plans were not altogether successful. nor was it until William was seated on the throne, that the English currency began to be systematized, and a sense of security in monetary affairs felt. In 1690 the General Court ordered an emission of £7000 in bills from 5s to £5. partly for the purpose of defence against the French and Indians, and partly as 'an adequate measure of commerce' owing to the 'scarcity of money.' Here commenced the paper currency of Massachusetts, which was continued until about 1750. It was issued by the state, and regulated by law, under the charge of a committee. From this date (1690) to 1740 our currency seems to have been a mixture of the new with the old currency, viz. Pine tree money, foreign coin, old charter bills, province bills and province productions. Gunpowder was one item to be received at the treasury.

As Massachusetts was obliged to pay her quota of troops in the Canadian wars. she emitted so much paper money through that cause, and her desire to afford a circulating medium for her trade, that her paper money depreciated greatly, and caused much suffering, as debts were legally paid in the depreciated currency, instead of silver. Like the continental money of the Revolution, only on not so fatal a scale, the province bills kept on sinking. In 1700 the colonial pound is said by one authority to have been worth $2.96 of our money—in 1727, $1.48; 1734, 91 cents; 1738, 78 cents, and depreciated finally to 'old tenor' money, worth only a tenth of the pound sterling. In 1700 two shillings in money (coin) was worth three shillings in pay (produce).

The paper money of Massachusetts was divided after 1737 into *Old and *New Tenor. The old tenor dates from and includes the emission of £9000 in 1737, because the conditions of that emission were different from preceding bills, inasmuch as they were to be received in all payments (import and tonnage dues and Light House incomes only excepted) the object being to supply the treasury with hard money by compelling cash to be paid for these excepted duties. As the old tenor bills by the same law ordering this £9000 new tenor were not to be received at the treasury in payment of the excepted duties, though originally issued and ordered to be taken for. all taxes, they fell in value even below the discount standard that government appointed for them. Though the government's standard of the new tenor was at one for three of the old tenor. they were really valued as one for four, and only passed at that.

The emission of paper money in Massachusetts sometimes without certain provision for its redemption—the drains upon her for her troops in the Canada wars—the scarcity of coin—the influx of the paper of neighboring

*The names *Old Tenor* and *New Tenor* were not given with reference to their *dates* but the *conditions* contained in them. The *old tenor* bills were originally intended to be received in payment of *all* taxes —the new for all taxes *excepting* certain treasury dues, the object being to collect *money* in the treasury to redeem the bills issued by the government.—The old tenor bills prior to 1737 were in this respect placed that year on the same footing as the new tenor of 1737, though originally issued to be taken in payment of any and all taxes. At this the merchants bitterly complained, and with justice.

The new tenor bills of 1737—the first—were afterwards called *middle tenor*, because in 1740 there was a fresh issue of old tenor as well as new tenor bills. In 1742, by law, £4 old tenor, or 26s 8l *middle* tenor was equal to 20s, and so pro rata of the last form and tenor (the issue of 1740, we presume.) In 1740 £5½ Massachusetts paper currency were only equivalent to one pound sterling of England. The condition of things then was, as a consequence, "an empty treasury, a defenceless country, and embarrassed trade." This continued until coin was introduced into Massachusetts more abundantly, and a stricter attention also paid to the public credit. In 1750, the old paper currency seems to have been swept away, as well as numerous schemes also for swindling the public by fraudulent or irresponsible issues of paper money.

colonies—some of it private and entirely irresponsible—all served to add to the monetary confusion in Massachusetts. In 1735 colonial taxes were permitted to be paid in *hemp, *flax and bar iron. The emissions and re-emissions of Massachusetts from 1702 to 1740 are said to have amounted to £1,132,500 on funds of taxes, and £310,000 on loans, and that £230,000 were still outstanding in 1740. The grievances of this period in commerce and trade—the various schemes for remedying these evils—the frauds, hardships, distresses of such a state of things, are minutely detailed in Felt's account of the Massachusetts currency—a work of much original research, and which we have freely used in this rough sketch of our old currency, and have also consulted the Colony Rec. & Laws to some extent, Hammatt's account of the revenues of the Ipswich Grammar School (5 vol. N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register,) Humphrey's Coin Collector's Manual, one or two Encyclopedias, and various valuable English and American works in the possession of Matthew A Stickney, Esq., of Salem, whose information in this matter is widely known, and whose kindness to us we are very happy to acknowledge.

In the days when our Fathers began their commercial career in this New World, the geographical knowledge of the age, like its scientific, was not free from various errors and absurdities. Not a little that went forth, from grave authorities on geography and science, was based on fancy, rather than fact. Philosophy, at that period, was not altogether free from the astrology and alchemy of the middle ages; and some of their quaint terms yet lingered, like the shades of departing Night, in the vales and sequestered haunts of contemplative Science. It was then commonly believed even by the *savans*, that the magnet held "in its dusky entrails" an attractive power, by

*In a note to page 72, No. 2, Vol. 1, of this magazine, it was stated that *Hemp* and *Flax* were native products of Massachusetts, and this may induce some to infer that the Hemp and Flax cultivated in Massachusetts were the natural products of that name. The present mention of these articles enables us to correct such inferences, as also a mistake concerning *Flax*, which does not, on closer examination, appear to have been a native product of the State, though there was a native plant called *Hemp*, which the Legislature in 1641 describe as "growing all over the country," and which they require masters to instruct their children and servants to work on. The subjoined valuable note from Prof. John Lewis Russell, throws much light upon these topics, as well as on the subjects mentioned in the various notes on pages 71 and 72, and the concluding note on page 76 of the same No. We are happy to give the whole note, first stating that we have corrected the error concerning the Flax, to which our attention was early called by the Professor. On asking him his opinion on all these topics, he kindly sent us the following note:

22 Lafayette Street, Aug. 15, 1859.

Mr. Chever.—What I deemed an error was in calling flax and hemp "*native* products of New England," and in your saying in note "*hemp* grew *wild* in Massachusetts."

I cannot conjecture what "flax" could have been at so early a period as 1629. It could scarcely have been raised as a field crop, at least sufficient for export. "Flax" (*Linum usitatissimum*) is an European plant, and we have no "native" species fit for flax thread. Some of our species of Asclepias or milkweeds, have tough, soft fibres, and *may* have been *called* flax on that account.

The hemp now cultivated for cordage &c., is of Asiatic origin. It is the Cannabis sativa We have however, another quite different plant in Apocynum cannabinum, which affords a very tough fibre, and probably was the *Indian* hemp (so called now,) from which the "Indians made fishing lines," according to Lewis. And perhaps the same plant was then both the "flax and hemp," after all.

In regard to Yucca filamentosa being the silk grass, I merely wished to state, that the name *silk-grass* is applied to the Yucca by Elliott in his *Sketch* of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia; but the Yucca is a Southern and Western plant, growing no nearer New England than Kentucky at the least.

"Jamaica Sarsaparilla" is the *veritable* root of medicine, and is identical with that from the Spanish Main. It is a Smilax, such as is found *only* in tropical regions. We have in Aralia medicinalis of our woods the New England Sarsaparilla, considered by native simplers and root-doctors as valuable, but really of very little efficacy; its long, fibrous roots possess a very pleasant flavor, but that is all; though Dr. Darlington says of both kinds that they are "*innocent* medicines, *provided* the disease be not serious." (*Flora Cestrica*, 2d Ed., p. 109.) The European practitioners attribute much virtue to the products of the true sorts, notwithstanding.

Yours, &c. JOHN L. RUSSELL.

which the veins of all kinds of mines (saving perhaps iron) could be traced. It was still regarded as a "mirror of Philosophy," and it was a general belief among the unlearned that to rub it with onion or garlic would destroy its efficiency. These and kindred fantasies befogged the visions of men, who were exploring the unknown in space, nor were they dissipated, until men began to observe the *facts* of nature and science, and deduce *theories* from *facts*—not *facts* from *theories*.

In Geography, even as late as 1719, amusing and strange were the errors gravely promulgated in learned works and treatises. We have before us a work called "Geography Anatomis'd or, The Geographical Grammar; being a Short and Exact Analysis of the whole Body of modern Geography,&c."—"By Pat Gordon, M. A. F. R. S." In this treatise, published in London, 1719, and which was "The Eighth edition, corrected, and somewhat enlarged," Gordon gravely tells us (when speaking of the rarities of Newfoundland.) that upon the Bank of that name, "So thick do these Fishes (*Cod* and *Poor John*) sometimes swarm upon this Bank, that they retard the Passage of ships sailing over the same." Speaking of the rarities of New England, (which he gets perhaps from *Josselyn*) he thus discourses—"of many rare Birds in New England, the most remarkable are the *Troculus*, and that called the *Humming Bird*. The former of these (being about the bigness of a swallow) is observable for three things: *First*, Having very short Legs, and hardly able to support himself, Nature hath provided him with sharp-pointed Feathers in his wings; by darting of which into the wall of a house, he sticks fast and rests securely. *Secondly*, the manner of his nest, which he useth to build (as swallows) in the Tops of Chimneys, but of such a Fashion, that it hangs down about a yard long. *Lastly*, Such Birds are remarkable for their Ceremony at departing; it being always observed, that when they remove, they never fail to leave one of their Young behind in the Room where they have nested, making thereby (as t'were) a grateful Acknowledgment to the Landlord for their Summer's Lodging."

According to the same authority, one of the commodities exported from New Jersey, is "Monkey-skins," and from Carolina, "Leopard-skins," though in justice to Gordon, we cannot believe that he actually meant the skins of animals exactly similar to those of the same name found in the East Indies.

California, he makes out to be an island, a fact settled by late discoveries. As he evidently has in his vision the Gulf of California as a Sound, his error is not so important. In describing *Florida*, however, he takes a tale of horror from *Purchas*, who describes a certain tree as growing in that country about the size of an ordinary apple tree, with so strong a poison in it, "that if a few handfulls of its leaves are bruised and thrown into a large pond of standing-water, all sorts of Beasts that happen to come and drink thereof, do suddenly swell and burst asunder." Marvellous as this story is, he tells one far more marvellous concerning the Desert of *Punas* in Peru, and as it would appear on the authority of one *J. Acosta*, who wrote a work on the natural and moral History of the Indies. Says Gordon—"Many Travellers endeavoring to pass over the Desart of *Punas*, have been benumb'd on a sudden, and fall'n down dead; which makes that way wholly neglected of late." *In Chili*, he speaks of another "Rarity" called, in Peruvian dialect, *Cunter*, (Condor) a "very remarkable bird," "of a prodigious size, and extremely ravenous. He frequently sets upon a sheep or calf"—"and not only kills, but is also able to eat up one of 'em entirely. Two of 'em will dare to assault a Cow or Bull, and usually master them. The Inhabitants of this country are not free from such attempts; but Nature hath so ordered, that this destructive creature is very rare, the whole Country affording only a very small number, otherwise not to be inhabited." This marvellous story he gets too from *Acosta*.

In Gordon's descriptions of the West Indies, and adjoining *Terra Firma*, are some rare sto-

ries, but time will not permit us to dwell upon them. We will mention only that truly wonderful fish found in the rivers of (Dutch) Guiana, which he describes as "a certain little fish about the bigness of a smelt, and remarkable for having four eyes, two on each side, one above the other; and in swimming 'tis observed to keep the uppermost two above, and the other two under water."—Such wonderful stories greeted our Fathers in print as late as 1719, in a work published by a learned man, not desirous of deceiving, and who dedicated his work to no less a functionary than *Thomas*, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.—And if such stories as these were believed by the learned—what imaginations, fantasies, credulities and exaggerations may not have haunted the minds of the more ignorant mariners, who, with a bold timidity, explored the shores and islands of a new world then actually teeming with novelties, and yet still more abounding with imaginative mysteries?

There remain unfortunately too few accounts of the voyages of our earliest commercial fathers. What they saw, what they heard, mainly died with them, or were left to papers or traditions, which are now mostly extinct. We can believe that they too shared the errors that then existed, and were haunted, too, by those mysteries which brooded over the new world, then so lately discovered. The fertility, the luxury, the beauty of the more southern shores of North America, and particularly of those islands which lie scattered between Florida and the northern shore of South America, were then almost in their original freshness and virgin prime. The mariner, wandering along the southern shores of the continent, or through the charming maze of those tropical isles, saw strange sights by the lonely shores, and scented strange and yet fragrant odors gently wafted from out the forests oppressed with perfume—the invisible essence and spirit of the flowers, gently forced by the almost as gentle wind to come forth, and tell the modest tale of their fragrant worth. Some fair native, bathing by some lonely cave or rock by these lonely seas, and, in the simplicity and purity of nature, became perchance to these imaginative voyagers the veritable *mermaid* of old, who, half fish and half woman, disported in the depths of the sea, and combed her yellow locks on the scattered rocks amid the foaming and ever restless sea; and who, like the syren of eld, was of wondrous and yet fatal beauty, and like that charmer, too, lured the mariner, who was beguiled by her, to a certain though pleasing destruction.

Those mariners, too, had seen perhaps the veritable *Merman*, who was so accustomed to sun himself on Diamond Rock, off the coast of Martinico, and had been approached so near, that he had actually been heard to blow his nose! Mermen and Mermaids had been caught in Europe and off the coast of Madagascar, and their existence and identity had been solemnly established by credible witnesses; and why should not our fathers have seen them among the beautiful Isles of the West Indian Archipelago? Were they not fitting haunts for the men and women of the sea? They saw, too, perhaps, the troubled ghosts of the mariners, who in those seas, so soft and so azure, had perished by the piratical Buccaneer, and so haunted the sea and shore which their life blood had dyed. They had seen, too, perchance, and with the horrid chill of fear, that mysterious ship, seen in so many oceans, and by so many generations of mariners,—wrapt in perpetual flames—a burning yet phantom ship—and wondered why, for what cause, that craft should drive before every wind in every sea, given over to the unendurable yet eternal agony of fire. What awful crime had been committed upon her decks, or by the lost mariners who sailed within her, that nevermore shou'd she seek a haven or a harbor; but, lit up by fires kindled not by earthly hands, and not of earthly kind, she should drive forth upon the sea, now blazing dim and lurid amid the storm and the darkness, and now, as in a sheeted auroral flame under the light of the wan and ghastly moon? No human being could board her decks; no

human hands relieve the souls, if aught there were, who sailed in that ship of fire. Cut off from the world below, as from the heaven above, they were to drift—drift on—until the world itself should roar and melt in final flame. Was this ship an imagination—looming up, not on the horizon of the visible sense, but on that of the invisible spirit—a spectral shape projected forth and painted on the imagination by the creative fear of man—or a spiritual verity, floating as a solemn and awful warning over the sea of time, with its flaming doom of guilt, to awe into virtue each sinning, sea-faring soul? On the broad and all but illimitable ocean, crime had a fearful power and limitless sway. The deeds of darkness, and wickedness, and blood, which could be done on the ever silent and solitary sea—seen by no eye save that of Omniscience—heard by no ear save that of Omnipresence—under no judge save the Omnipotent,—these deeds, we say, could only receive their punishment at the hands of God himself—the Great Invisible,—and these crimes, so vast, so solitary, so free of human jurisdiction and control, could alone be reached by spiritual means, and by spiritual torments: and hence the great criminals of the sea, in the belief of the seamen of all ages, are to expiate their crimes on the spot of their origin, by those torments which alone can reach them, and in the terrible isolation and loneliness of the wastes of ocean, cut off too hopelessly from all human sympathy, with no companionship but the dreary unsocial sea, lonely even in the brightest sunshine, and desolate and awful indeed when the terror of the storm and night is upon it.

What more terrible fate indeed could be given the wicked, who have roamed over it, and how awful the real or fancied sight of their torments upon it—so fitting too with the time and the place—the realities and the mysteries of the lonely and mysterious sea—which has hidden in the impenetrable reserve of its depths those tales—to which the creations of fancy are but as the merest imaginations beside eternal verities—and whose very winds at times breathe tales of terror and mystery to the keen and watchful ear?

Some of these mariners of New England, in their adventurous search may have traded too with those outlaws of mankind, the Buccaneers, perhaps ventured into their very dens, at Tortuga and St. Domingo, and heard from them rare stories of the Spanish Main, or desperate adventure against the wealthy Spanish galleons. They may have eaten with them their roasted ox, the peculiar cooking of which is said to have given them their name, and then departed in friendly peace. They saw too perhaps the fast fading remnants of the inoffensive Indians of Cuba, or the savage and cannibal Carrib of the Leeward Group. Wherever they travelled or gazed among desolate keys, or cloudy green isles, they saw many strange verities, and perhaps yet more strange creations of the plotting brain, all magnified and of marvellous guise as seen through the half luminous ignorance of the age.

Those adventurous yet simple mariners of old had some faiths and also some credulities, and the latter took a sea-turn, and made them sea-bigots, at times, instead of land ones. Those, too, who, in those days, innovated upon the beliefs of the sea, fared but little better than those who assailed the ancient beliefs of the land. He, who scouted the existence of the Flying Dutchman, was akin to him who disbelieved the Flying Witches, broomsticks and all. The sea had its mysteries as had the land, and the Phantom Ship filled with its awful shadows—the spiritual forms of those despairing and lost mariners, bound like the sea everywhere and yet nowhere, in an eternal unquiet and restlessness for their sins and crimes—that ship—those forms were as real, as visible, as those unearthly and mysterious visitants who tormented our fathers, with every spiritual and temporal torment, in the awful days of 1692. It took, indeed, a more fatal turn upon the land, for the *living* had to bear the odium and hatred of the Demoniac sin and shame; but it was the same belief under a different form, passing, however, upon land into a ter-

rible revenge upon the living. Still the land belief was akin to that very belief of the sea, which saw at times in horror, and with every particular hair on end, that Phantom Ship—spectral and shadowy—that seemed indeed to have been

"Built in the Eclipse and rigged with curses dark,"

and which, perhaps ominous of evil, could be seen at times sailing in the dim twilight towards the midst of the lowering tempest clouds, and after the sunken moon; or passing in dangerous proximity, and unearthly speed, and under a press of canvass even before the very strength and fury of the gale, while from her deck peered out those faces, which once seen, could never be forgotten.

It was not often that the mysteries of the sea clothed themselves in pleasing and mirth provoking merry forms. Even the pleasing Mermaid lured to destruction. The mariner, who became fatally beguiled by her beauty, jumped into the sea, not to be received into her arms, but to sink into the dark depths, lost, forever lost, without even the reward of his folly and crime. The sea—so solemn, so vast, so sad, so treacherous in calms, so fearful and destructive in storms, so full of dangers and deceits, so suggestive of the infinite, the lonely, desolate, grand and sublime—gave birth mainly to imaginations kindred to its own solitary sublimity—and hence the visions, the tales—the mysteries of the sea were often shrouded in the drapery of gloom—were sad as is the wail of the tempest, mysterious as is the vast heaving ocean itself—suggestive of the wild license, untamable power, fierce passions, and remorseless deeds of the sea around—which knew no compassion for human misfortunes, and under all moods and at all times was deaf, and blind, and reckless, and merciless as Fate. So the imaginations of the sea became earnest, and serious, and sad, as if reflected from the great verity itself, whose waters washed the shores of all climes, and with equal indifference to all, and kept in its dark bosom the crimes of all the people, which, from the birth of man, have been by or upon it, and which have stained the salt purity of its waves.

These, and kindred mysteries of the sea, were in full force in the early day, and tinged the mariner's life with their sombre, yet unreal romance. Indeed, they linger yet—for the unrealities of time are the most real and enduring, whether they be for good or evil. What the spiritual in man (whether that spirituality be good or evil) can see, is in no man's province to say. What may be the great mysteries around us, who, indeed, can tell? The good and the evil alike see the invisible; the good, that which is good, tho' heavenly and unseen, and the evil, the spectral and unearthly, though shrouded from other eyes in merciful darkness. The excited, the morbid, the fearful vision of man sees, at all events, what it creates, and may see even those terrible unrealities which are but too real. Fear sees strange sights and hears strange sounds. So does despair, and so does faith. So indeed does credulity, into which fear enters with large license, and both fear and faith see with telescopic vision, resolving the far off nebula of mystery into the distinctness of shape and reality.

But those mariners of old saw too not alone the mysteries which haunt the sea, but the beautiful and sensuous realities of tropic lands. Trading, as was their wont, amid the West Indian Archipelago, with its various star-like clusters of islands, floating on the almost etherial azure of that sea, and clad with eternal green, with flowering vines of exquisite beauty, even upon their very brinks; and cedars, and lofty and graceful palms waving far above, and bright hued birds flitting from bough to bough, in colors no art could equal or imitate; those mariners of old saw these with almost a child-like wonder, and in vivid contrast with the sober sternness and temperate hues of the northern clime. The lands of the orange, the lime, the pomegranate, the papaya, the mamey, the zapote, the mango, the pine apple, the citron, the banana, the fig-tree, lay before them. The cedar, the

palm, the calibash, the manchineel, and cabbage tree, waved over them. The giant mahogany, the lignum vitæ, the iron wood, stood in almost imperishable strength, and towered in the tropical airs. The gigantic *Quiebra Hacha*, with its ambitious and giant parasite, the *Bejuco*, that Anaconda of vines, the lofty cotton tree, with its enormous shaft, covered with vines, and filled with colonies of birds, insects, and animals —the odoriferous gum trees and shrubs, the splendid varieties of parasites, the flowering vines, rich in all the colors of the tropics,—these met their eyes and excited their curiosity as they have those of the generations since. Beneath the waters played the parrot fish, snappers, gray cavallos, tertunes, crawfish and mullet, and above them the turtle, dear to appetite and luxury. By the reefs they saw those plantations and fields of the coral, filled with the living plants and flowers of the sea—yellow, and crimson, and scarlet and purple—among whose bending boughs and sea-lifted leaves, green, and red, and grey fish were darting, and where

"The purple mullet and gold fish rove."

Our fathers saw, as we see, the *poetry of the sea in these gardens of the deep—for the sea hath its gardens, as hath the land—and many a New England home could show boughs and branches of coral, plucked from the wide, beautiful and abundant gardens of the deep, and suggestive, even in their silent and fragmentary fate, of the beauties, the wonders, the mysteries of the sea. With them, too, came strange tales of mermen and mermaids disporting in those gardens;

"Where the sea-flower spreads its leaves of blue,
That never are wet with the falling dew,
But in bright and changeful beauty shine,
Far down in the green and glassy brine.
The floor is of sand, like the mountain drift,
And the pearl shells spangle the flinty snow;
From coral rocks the sea-plants lift
Their boughs where the tides and billows flow;
The water is calm and still below,
For the winds and waves are absent there,
And the sands are bright as the stars that glow
In the motionless fields of upper air;
There with its waving blade of green,
The sea-flag streams through the silent water,
And the crimson leaf of the dulse is seen
To blush like a banner bathed in slaughter;
There—with a light and easy motion—
The Fan-Coral sweeps through the clear, deep sea,
And the scarlet and crimson tufts of ocean
Are bending like corn on the upland lea!"

The land, too, had its sights. The grim alligator, the scarlet flamingo, the host of beautiful parrots, the glittering humming bird, the brilliant yet changeable gobemouche, the nimble monkey, with numberless troops of brilliant birds, bright colored serpents, beautiful sea and land crabs, and strange quadrupeds, met there their eyes, as they may have ours, only perchance as greater wonders. They had felt the fury of the tropical hurricanes, and revelled in the glory of the tropical summer. Wafted in and through these gentle summer seas, they, too, saw and felt the surpassing beauty of the tropical nights, when the moon is as a silver sun, and though she be absent, yet the Milky Way, or Venus, in all her glory, sheds a kindred lustre, unknown in Northern skies. They, too, wondered at those brilliant meteors of the air, the lightning *Cantharides* or the *Cayouyous* (Flies) and Cucullos, which at night flitted over the savannahs of these isles, and which good honest *Gordon* speaks of as giving "a mighty lustre in the night-time while they fly." They had visited old Port Royal, Jamaica, and seen its unrivalled luxury and crime, and some of them perchance were there at its fearful doom—that city by the sea, which was the haunt of the Buccaneer, and every unlawful, unhallowed trader, and which, as in an instant, was swallowed up forever in the angry waves—and over whose very houses and streets the mariner now floats into modern Kingston. Some of them, too, may have found in these lands, so luxuriant, yet at times so deadly, their last

* The Salem mariners had a prose and practical, as well as poetical side to their character, since, in the earlier days of their commerce, they brought *Coral* from the West Indies both as ballast, and to burn for lime—then much needed and only obtained from burning sea-shells found on our coasts—before limestone had been discovered in these parts.

rest, smitten by the pestilence, which walketh in darkness and wasteth at noon day through these beautiful isles, though they be fanned by airs of balm, though fragrant with orange and citron blooms, and shaded with the soft swaying palm into luxurious quiet and repose.

And these scenes,—which must be seen to be known,—with all their indescribable delights, were doubtless doubly delicious to our fathers, after having traversed the sea, not as with our certainty and speed, but with many an imperfect rule and chart, and under risks, which will never more be run. Well contented, perhaps, to be not more than a hundred miles out of their true longitude, and not always exact in their latitude, they must have felt, when the harbor was won, a sense of relief, more keen perhaps than the modern mariner is ever wont to feel. Not alone for them had the sea its ordinary dangers, but the license of the sea was greater then than now, and the Pirates under the guise of law were then far more to be dreaded than the open defiant outlaw of more modern days. Oppressed with ignorance, beset with dangers, and in craft that would now be scouted from our commercial enterprise, they still ploughed the ocean with adventurous keels, and have left us many a brave example of what the mind may plan and the heart may dare in the pursuit of honest gain. Honor to them is honor to all the brave commercial spirits whether of the Past or Present, and even a welcome and encouragement to those of the Future.

We ought not to omit, in closing this general sketch of the commerce of Salem from 1626 to 1740, some more particular notice of the dangers and difficulties which were attendant on our early navigation. These we gather mainly from old nautical works. When our fathers ran their little sloops, ketches and brigantines (of from 20 to 40 or 60 tons burthen) to England, Europe and the West Indies, they had to compute their longitude by the run of the ship—or by lunar observations with the imperfect* books, methods and tables then extant, or by charts marked with the variations of the needle—all imperfect, and practicably unreliable. The loss of Sir Cloudesly Shovel and his fleet, through ignorance of the true longitude, roused the English government to attempt to improve and perfect navigation by the discovery of some reliable method of determining longitude at sea, and in 1714 a reward of £20,000 was offered for its certain determination within 30 miles—£15,000 for 40 and £10,000 for 60 miles—the government being willing to offer a partial reward even for its determination within 80 geographical miles of dangerous coasts. It was not until 1764 and 1774 that Harrison convinced the English government that his chronometer watch was a reliable time keeper, though in 1761 it had only made an error of 28 miles in a voyage to Jamaica and back to England. It was not until the close of the last century, to judge by nautical works, that the discovery of longitude by lunar observations also became of practical use. An old sea captain, now in his 90th year, and who commenced his sea life in 1788, informs us that longitude was obtained by our New England craft from then, up to the time Dr. Bowditch introduced the lunar method, (about 1800) by dead reckoning—that is the measured run of the ship; and mistakes of half a degree, or a whole degree, and even more, were common. No certainty within a *hundred* miles could be obtained on long voyages. The chronometer, he informs us is comparatively a modern instrument, so far as a prac-

*As a specimen of the old works of navigation, there can be found in the Essex Institute a volume of Sellers' (John) Practical Navigation, printed in 1676. Seller was Hydrographer to the King. This was first the property of Philip English, and then was used successively by his sons William and John. In it can be found descriptions for the use of and diagrams of the ancient Meridian Compass—Fore Staff Quadrant—Plough—Nocturnal, &c., and it is well worth the passing attention of the modern navigator, so much more blessed by later and superior means of navigation.

tical use of it is concerned—not having been in general use more than these last thirty or forty years. The dangers attendant upon approaching coasts were thus vastly greater in old times than now, when any error in longitude would not ordinarily exceed probably ten miles. He informs us that a schooner he sailed in (1788) from Bilboa to Marblehead, and when near Marblehead, was only saved by one of the crew first seeing the rock named Satan, close to the bows, (there being a snow storm at the time) and shouting out that fact lustily to the crew. The captain was thus for the first time aware of his true longitude on the coast!

Our fathers used for obtaining their latitude the instruments known as the cross-staff, and Davis's Quadrant—the latter the best instrument then extant, and yet not reliable itself when there was much motion to the vessel — In 1731 Hadley brings forward a very superior Quadrant (which was, however, invented before him both by Sir Isaac Newton and Godfrey of Philadelphia,) but this improvement probably did not come into general use before 1750, if even as early as that. Take into the account, moreover, the absence of correct charts in the early day,—the presence of *pirates and freebooters on the ocean, and even

* From the settlement of the country to 1724 certainly, our early commerce was subject to piracy. The Algerine and Tunisian pirates troubled our commerce in the English channel for several years, beginning from 1640. As early as 1632 English pirates came upon our coast. French privateers or pirates gave us trouble occasionally, from 1645, onwards. The Indians to the southward, and northward especially, gave us trouble until 1724, and even afterwards. French and Spanish vessels being or assuming to be *privateers* troubled our commerce from 1687 to 1725, and drove some of our vessels ashore. From 1684 to 1725, particularly from 1684 to 1700, our commerce was preyed upon by English pirates, and that too near our very shores. In 1722 our Salem Fort maintained a watch on account of a rumor of pirates being near the coast. In 1670 the General Court publish in Boston by beat of drum (27th May) a proclamation against a ship at the Isle of Shoals, suspected of being a pirate, which ship does not come under command and submit to the laws and harbor rules of the Colony, and prohibits her, her goods or her company from coming into our jurisdiction, or ports upon penalty of being seized, secured, &c.

In 1673 piracy and mutiny were especially denounced by General Court, and made punishable by death. To judge by this order of the Court, piracy and mutiny were not unfrequent in our *harbors* and seas—the mutineers appearing to have risen upon their officers and seized the vessels for the sake of the plunder merely!

In 1696 our General Court passed a law against pirates and privateers, stating in the Preamble that many persons had obtained licenses as privateers and that for the purpose of becoming pirates and preying on foreign friendly vessels. "The Booke of Recordes for Masters, &c.," a valuable record of the past, kindly pointed out to us by Ira J. Patch, Esq., (and found by him in our Essex County Court files,) 1st vol page 73, contains the affidavits of Capt. Habbakuk Gardner, of Salem, commander of Ship Friendship, and Joseph Browne, one of the mariners, wherein they state that on a voyage to Antegua and the Leeward Islands, on the 13 March 1707–8 in latt. 17 10 North, a French Privateer captured them and carried them into Martinico—ship and cargo a total loss.

In the same vol. Capt. John Shattock enters his protest against capture by Pirates. He sailed from Jamaica for New England, and on Oct. 3, 1719 in or about latt. 23 20 N. and in sight of Bohemia, otherwise Long Island, was captured by a "Pyrat" of 12 guns and 120 men, under the command of Capt. Charles Vane, who took him to Crooked Island (Bahamas) plundered him of various articles—stripping the brig for what articles they wanted—abused some of his men, and finally let him go. Coming, however, on a winter's coast—his vessel stripped of needed sails—he was blown off to the West Indies, and did not arrive in Salem until the next Spring.

As late as 1724 the *Boston Gazette* contains an account of the capture of a sloop off Cape Ann by two pirates, (Nut and Phillips) and her capture by *Andrew Harradine* and crew—the captured master and crew of the vessel. *Harradine* and his crew rose upon their captors, killed *Nut*, his comrade, and the other officers, and brought the pirate crew into Boston, and surrendered them to the authorities as prisoners. In the West Indies, the Spanish, and on the coast of New Foundland the French privateers, were

very near home—the want of light-houses, (Boston light-house being first lit up only as late as 1716, Thatcher Island light house in 1771, and Baker's Island light-house in 1798) —with the more clumsy hulls, spars, rigs, &c. of the olden time, and we shall have abundant reason for believing that modern ‡navigation is vastly superior to and safer than the old, and be inclined also to give due credit to the enterprise and courage of the old merchants and navigators, who in spite of these difficulties and dangers sought commercial success. Some of them felt indeed their dependence on a Higher Power, as they ploughed a thrice dangerous deep, and their journals and papers show that this is true. It made them, moreover, generous, liberal and brave. Do the moderns surpass them as much in these respects, as they unquestionably do in all the other elements of knowledge, power and success?

Here ends our general sketch of the commerce of Salem up to 1740—an imperfect one we are aware, but still of some use perhaps to him who shall write the history of our Salem commerce at some future day—a history, moreover, which well deserves to be written, and by the pen of an able and competent man.—There are, however, some reflections which are forced upon us in a review of our commerce even up to 1740, which we desire to state, but as briefly as we may.

at times formidable. The French, and the Indians —instigated probably by the French—gave our commerce, for a series of years after 1680, much trouble; —the French almost destroying the fishing fleet of Salem, between 1689 and 1711. The "good old times" of commerce, as of other matters, is an error of the imagination—a perfect delusion, which investigation at once dissipates.

For a circumstantial account of the capture of the pirates who captured the Ketch Mary off Half Way Rock in 1689, see the 2d vol. N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, page 393. It is an instructive paper, as explanatory of the impudent boldness of these ancient outlaws, who, however, have been said to have had *"friends at Court"* in those days, which may account for their audacity.

‡ Among other dangers attendant on the navigation of the olden time, the absence of regular pilots was an important one. Our fishermen needed, it is true, no pilots for Salem Harbor, for they were well acquainted with the coast harbors, including, of course their own, and their ketches and sloops being seldom over 40 tons, did not draw, probably, more than from four to six feet. Larger vessels coming on to the coast, ran, of course, much more danger, especially strange vessels, as there were no regular pilots. It was not until 1783, according to Felt, and after some heavy losses had been sustained for want of well regulated pilotage, that the General Court enacted that there should be two regular pilots for Salem. Before that time, it appears as if pilotage here was only a chance and uncertain business, and pilots, of course, as chance and uncertain. By the maratime code of 1668, any person undertaking the charge of "Pylot," and not being able to discharge his duty, was to lose his wages, in part, or in whole, and be further punished for his presumption as the judges "shall see meete." Judging from this law, there were no regular professional pilots in Massachusetts at that date.

Our fathers, so far as we can find, generally acted as their own pilots, and sometimes acted as Pilots for the English men-of war in their expeditions against the French to the northward, or on our coasts. Their method of navigation on sea voyages was, of course, a simple and rude science. It has been said that they sometimes ran their sloops and ketches to the West Indies by the bearing of the North Star, or other stars, and an amusing story is told (how true we know not) of one old sea captain, who was accustomed to take his bearings of the North Star through a hole made in a flag-staff on the stern, and was very skillful in his own original mode of navigation; but whose secret was discovered by a waggish mate, who cut off his flag-staff one night, and thus totally confused the old man's calculations and plans. The old way of navigation to the West Indies is said to have been—first to attempt to run down to the latitude of the Island sought, and then steer as directly East or West, as they could, on the line of Longitude. Their uncertainty as to their longitude was often very great and perplexing.

With their small craft, however, they could readily run into the bays and creeks of the coast harbors, and well understood between 1660 and '70, not alone their own immediate coasts, but those of Virginia and Maryland, into the intricacies of whose creeks and bays they pried with adventurous audacity.

The Puritans began their settlement at Salem upon the idea and basis of religious freedom—a noble base, and the only true basis of government ; and it may be that their zeal for a while in this cause outran their discretion, as is apt to be the case with the pioneer and reformer. Commerce and civil government, as a result, were somewhat neglected. As soon, however, as the puritans saw their mistake, they came back to the support of these matters, for there was a reason among these men, after all, which did not permit them to go far astray. They were, as a general rule, free from the extravagancies which marked the course of many of their puritan brethren then in Old England—that wild visionary spiritual democracy, culminating in the fifth monarchy men and millenarians. The puritans in New England were wiser—more liberal—the result, doubtless, of their more perfect freedom, both in religion and civil government. They respected Cromwell, and sympathised with him in his republican views, and the respect was mutual, but even him they kept at arm's length, mistrustful of King or Protector—jealous of their liberties either in church or state—looking to independence of all powers under Heaven. If forced to yield, it was but for a time, and, as soon as they could, they overthrew the tyranny which oppressed them.—Their defects—the defects of their faith and policy—were not incurable, nor did they long continue. Like the clouds, they in time passed away, while their wisdom, like the sun, endured. These puritans, moreover, when they came back to right views in civil matters, carried the same idea of freedom, supported too by their religious faith, into commerce and government ; and the results were a noble liberality—a genuine wisdom in both. Into their *legislation* they carried many noble plans for the civil freedom and rights of men—a regard to justice—the love of learning, industry, prudence, liberty. Into their *commerce* they carried not only their industry, energy and sagacity, but they demanded there also greater liberties than the Old World ever knew. They became pioneers there too—the pioneers of unrestricted trade—the able and earnest supporters of the doctrine, that commerce is only to bear its just proportion of the burdens of government. They resisted the civil tyranny of England in trade, as they did her ecclesiastical tyranny in the church. The banner they threw to the winds was "Liberty in Church—Liberty in State—Liberty in Trade"—and to the extent of their ability they maintained this creed, even in the face of haughty mother England, with the Savage, too, at their very doors, and his war-whoop ever and anon sounding in their ears. To the thoughtful student of history there is something noble and grand in the position oft times assumed by Massachusetts in the hour of her trial, sore beset as she was, not alone by enemies, but by those spiritual and temporal evils, which never try the worldly and base, but which purify the genuine and the good as by fire. Still she maintained in that hour her noble independence.—She did not forget the sanctity of her origin—nor the power which alone can save. Having faith in Him—faith in whom is victory—she demanded of old, demands now, and will ever demand, *Liberty*—Liberty for the soul of man—Liberty for the mind of man—Liberty for the skill, the labor and the body of man ;—for with these liberties come all other prosperities, human or divine, and without them come only those licenses which give over men and nations alike to temporal and eternal perdition.

In making this general sketch of the commerce of Salem up to 1740 we have consulted the Mass Hist. Collections—Colony Records—Local Records—Histories of England, Mass. and United States—Old Geographies—Felt's Annals of Salem (a work full of local items)—Old Nautical Works—Old Traditions, papers and letters. We return our thanks to Dr. H. Wheatland, H. M. Brooks, H. J. Pratt, H. F. King, I. J. Patch, Joseph Cloutman and M. A. Stickney, Esq's for favors—also to Prof. John Lewis Russell. We are indebted to Felt for many items which we thus acknowledge. After a somewhat careful examination of various

authorities, (including the commercial papers yet remaining in the English family,) we have been enabled to give a fuller sketch of the early commerce of Salem, than we had dared at first to hope for ; and will now endeavor to sketch the life and commercial pursuits of Philip English, one of the old Salem merchants, whose active business life extended from about 1670 to about 1733 or 4, and who died shortly before 1740, the period at which we have closed our remarks on the Commerce of Salem.

APPENDIX TO REMARKS ON THE COMMERCE OF SALEM.

Commerce of Salem before 1640. Though the commerce of Salem may be said to have begun about 1640, yet there seems to have been a commercial spirit stirring here previous to that, for even as early as 1638, the ship Desire of Salem made a voyage to New Providence and Tortuga, and returned laden with cotton, tobacco, salt and negroes, (slaves) the latter the first imported into N. E. This inhuman practice of making men slaves was subsequently denounced, however, by our General Court. In 1639 the first importations of indigo and sugar seem to have been made into New England In 1642 a Dutch ship exchanges a cargo of salt for plank and pipe staves in New England ; and the very next year 11 vessels sailed from New England for the W. Indies, with lumber. This shows the rapid increase of our marine. It is most probable that before 1637 the Salem people began building large decked shallops, and perhaps also ketches for fishing and trading purposes—their craft not being then (as a general rule) larger than twenty or thirty tons burthen, if even that.

Gov. Cradock. We find, on a particular examination of the Colony Records, that though Gov. C. was never paid in person his claim against the Colony, yet that his widow, in 1670, and after various examinations of the claim by officers appointed by the General Court, was granted (through her third husband) a thousand acres of land, in consideration "of the great disbursements made by Mathew Cradock for the good of these plantations." In 1671 Mr. John Davenport gets a grant from the General Court of 500 acres, in consideration that his father was an adventurer in the common stock, and was instrumental in furthering of this plantation. This seems to indicate that the General Court then acknowledged a *quasi* proprietary right at least in those originally interested in the early common stock of the Colony to the soil of Massachusetts.

Proprietary Rights. In reference to the extinguishment of the Proprietary Rights of the Home Company in the soil of Massachusetts—when did this take place? The original charter of James to the Plymouth Company granted the *fee* of New England to that company, as did also *their* grant to Sir Henry Rosewell and his associates, and as did also the confirmation of that grant to Rosewell and his associates by Charles the First. The charter gave not only the *fee* to the body politic and corporate to be called by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, but gave them also power to acquire lands. It gave the fee absolutely to the Patentees, their heirs and assigns, but with the permission also to join with them such freemen as they should choose into the Company. The charter, moreover, gave broad powers of government to the patentees, but never contemplated the erection of a Commonwealth, only a Corporation.

The fee was not, moreover, to be held in Capite, [that is, as a tenancy in chief and directly under the King—the most honorable, but most burdensome of all the tenures,] nor by Knight Service, [a tenure held by personal, military or pecuniary services given the King —ofttimes a burdensome and expensive tenure,] but in free and common soccage, as of our manor of East Greenwich in Kent,—which was most probably one mainly of homage and fealty,—the tenure in free soccage being a free and honorable one—the name *soccage* being derived, according to Bosworth, (Anglo Saxon Dictionary) from *soc*, which signifies "*liberty*,

immunity, franchise, privilege, to minister justice or execute laws, jurisdiction," and the whole term signifying a free and privileged tenure. Free soccage was generally a tenure held by a certain determinate service, and not only a certain but honorable one; and really a more valuable one than the higher tenures, whose services were too often precarious and burdensome. It has been supposed to have been a remnant of the old Saxon liberties.

This tenure, moreover, granted the patentees, was of a higher order even than free soccage in general; for the charter states that its privileges are granted without express mention of any certain yearly value (rent) made (to be paid) for the premises. This proves the high order of the tenure under the patent. It was of the highest named order of free soccage —"as of our manor of East Greenwich"—and this order was most probably the very highest, since Greenwich had been the residence of several of the Kings and Queens of England. King Henry the 8th often made it his residence, and Queens Mary and Elizabeth were born there. This is undoubtedly the same manor which Charles describes as his in the charter, and the franchises belonging thereto were of a royal nature, of the freeest order, and the best adapted for the new Colony—being doubtless the least aristocratic, and therefore least burdensome, of all the English tenures.

As the *fee*, however, was given to Rosewell and his associates, their heirs and assigns, when shall we consider their proprietary rights as having ceased in the Colony? It does not appear that they took the *fee* merely *in trust* for governmental and Colonial purposes, but as a corporation—as owners. The fee did after a while, very probably at or before 1636, merge in or become the high and eminent domain of government, whenever, in fact, the corporation became a commonwealth. Gov. Bradford in 1680 states that they (the Government) were obliged to grant land *in fee* to the early settlers, that they might not be discouraged by not having land of their own. This precedent doubtless destroyed any feudal policy of the patentees in Massachusetts, and perhaps practically extinguished the proprietary rights of the patentees, who then may have been in the old country. At all events, the transfer of the Patent operated (with or without a sale or release of the proprietors' rights —of which sale or release, however, we see no positive proof) to break up any landed monopoly and any feudal privileges or rights resulting from the grant; while the increase of adventurers in the common stock of the Colony, and freemen also, must soon have destroyed the *power* of the original patentees. It was, moreover, the policy and interest of the patentees or proprietors here to conciliate new comers by granting lands *in fee*—which soon became the settled policy of the Colony. The civil troubles in England probably did not much affect after all the rights of the proprietors, though the judgment pronounced individually against several of the company in England in 1635, on the "*Quo Warranto*" then brought against the company, may have been considered both in England and Massachusetts as a legal forfeiture of all the proprietary rights of such patentees then being in England or in America.

The original policy of the patentees was doubtless to grant land to the Colonists, not *in fee*, but by tenures which reserved certain rents to be paid by the grantees, who would thus become tenants under a species of perpetual lease, paying their rents therefor. It is evident that the company in London did not wish the Colonists in Massachusetts (unless they were joined with the patentees in the common stock of the company, and therefore associates) to hold their lands *in fee*, but by a lesser tenure—as tenants—simply paying "some seruice certain days in the yeare, and by that seruice they and their posteritie after them to hold and inherite these (their) lands." This service was to be their rent, or its equivalent. For proof of this see the Company's letter to Gov. Endecott, quoted in Felt's Annals, Vol. 1, p. 103.

There seems, however, to be no conclusive evidence that the patentees desired that the Colony lands should be divided into counties, to be apportioned among themselves, again to be subdivided into lesser partitions ruled over by inferior officers. Royalists like Gorges, and men of his class, might dream such dreams, but the patentees were probably wiser, and seem throughout, both in the transfer of the patent, and their subsequent action under it, to have considered more the common weal of the colonists, and at least yielded wisely, where any feudal policy of the charter might have oppressed the Colonists. Colonizing with religious liberty in view, they wisely rejected a worldly ambitious policy, and the consequence was, that any and all feudal traits in their charter soon disappeared.

The proprietary rights of the original Patentees may have disappeared in the same way —almost insensibly—becoming merged in the common weal of the Colony. The simple transfer of the patent here did not extinguish such rights—that is legally. It must be, we think, after all, the fact that the religious spirit and purpose of the settlement here—the wise and generous policy put in practice under the charter by the authorities in the Colony—together with the general liberty of the Colonists—that these causes all combined to merge the large proprietary rights to a great degree into a common weal for the people, and the patentees and their associates never attempted afterwards to disturb such a policy, or favored it—having a higher object in view than mere worldly ambition or avarice in the matter.

Commerce under the Charter.

In the preceding Article on our Salem Commerce, little has been said of commerce as affected by the charter. A note on this point may therefore be interesting. According to the charter itself, the intention of Charles (the King) in establishing the Colony, was to win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, "*which in our royal intencon and the adventurers' free profession, is the principall ende of this plantacon.*" To this end the company of adventurers were authorized to erect themselves into a corporation, with powers to make all needed and wholesome laws, "according to the course of our other corporacons in this our realme of England," and "be so religiously, peacably and civilly governed," that "their goode life and orderlie conversation" may win over the natives to the Christian faith. Very ample civil powers were given to these ends,—almost sufficient to justify the Puritans in any constructions they might be pleased to put upon the charter. Admiralty powers seem to flow naturally from this charter: while its concluding provisions declare that the charter itself shall be construed, reputed and adjudged in all cases most favorably on the behalf and for the benefit of the Governor and company, and their successors, and this, though no express mention of any certain yearly value (rent) had been made (as to be paid the King) for the premises (lands under the patent,) and in spite of any act, rule or restraint to the contrary, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary notwithstanding. These powers and their construction were both ample and liberal, and it is not to be wondered at, that the Puritans, up to the loss of the charter in 1684, held it as a sacred instrument—full of grand and indispensable liberties.

The early Puritans took all the liberties the charter gave, and some in addition. Charles contemplated (we may suppose) the establishment of an Episcopal Church and system in New England, and the Puritans established Congregationalism, and excluded Episcopacy. He granted a corporation, and they established a Commonwealth. The Puritans, moreover, by denying the right of appeal to the King, together with the accusation made against them of aiming at sovereignty, finally roused the Monarch against them, as their church discipline had the Episcopal Church, and in 1634 the Archbishop of Canterbury and his associ-

ates were made a special commission, with full power over the American plantations. These powers extended over the government, laws and the Church, and went even to the revoking of any charter *surreptitiously* obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative. If our Colonial Charter is to be considered as aimed at on the score of being *surreptitiously* obtained, it must be as having been obtained through legal and proper forms, but with a *fraudulent* intent—the main intents of the Charter being the conversion of the Indians, and the establishment of a trading corporation, which intents the King may have considered as violated by the subsequent civil and religious acts of the Colonists, those acts having been in the intentions of the Colonists *from the first!*

The commercial privileges granted by the charter were ample for that day. In order that the Colony should be settled, permission was freely granted the Company to transport persons, (with but one exception,) arms, clothing, animals, merchandise, &c., (including all needed articles) for seven years, free of duty, and were also to be free for 21 years (after the seven) of all duties on imports from or exports to England, or English dominions, except 5 pounds per cent. on goods and merchandise imported into England or English possessions. They were also permitted to export their goods or merchandise from England and English possessions to foreign countries without paying any additional duty, if shipped from thence [England or English possessions] within thirteen months after landing; and had six months time given to pay the half duty. Certain provisions (as exceptions) were made to prevent fraud—and the Patent or duplicate or an exemplification thereof, was to be considered as proof of these privileges before any custom or excise officers. The Colony was to be free from all taxes, subsidies, (pecuniary assistance to England) or Customs (Custom dues). By the terms of the charter, moreover, the patentees and associates paid no rent to the King for the tenure of their land, and thus in fact (considering the other charter privileges) were placed upon a footing, (it was thought) but little short of independent sovereignty.

The charter contained, as will be seen, the germ of the subsequent navigation laws of England, as it required the Colonial exports to seek English markets in the first instance and pay the mother country the duty, prior to exportation to foreign countries. This provision was not complied with. The Colonists, in fact, made themselves as independent of the charter in commercial as in civil matters. It is evident that they wisely considered that the charter was made for them, and not they for the charter.

It ought to be said here that the Colonists, and the great lawyers of England looked at the powers conferred by the charter in a somewhat different light. The lawyers in England thought the charter was originally intended to be exercised in England, under the direct operation of the English courts and laws, that it conferred, therefore, and needed no admiralty powers—had no authority to establish Courts for Probate of Wills, and Courts exercising power over the lives of the Colonists, &c. They thought the Colonists had usurped various powers, not originally given in the charter. When the agent of Mass. in England endeavored to save the charter, he was met with these objections, and though the lawyers there (the Crown officers) were for the continuance of the old charter, with various additional needed powers—that is, for continuing the old powers so granted with new powers—though Archbishop Tillotson, and Bishop Burnet also favored this, yet the old, and newly demanded liberties of Mass. were destroyed by the *Trade* interest of England, which proved too strong for justice and liberty. Bishop Burnet said that he considered that the charter granted to the patentees was a more sacred one than those given corporations in England, since the charter given to the patentees was on condition of their enlarging the King's dominions—a thing they

had done, and therefore the powers under the charter belonged of right to the Patentees, while the power usually granted corporations was *a matter of grace*. It is evident that Tillotson considered the charter as very different from that of an ordinary trading corporation. He looked at it in a religious point of view, and as one which ought to be confirmed. His denunciations of Laud in his conversations with Mather, the agent of Mass, seem to confirm this view. (See Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st series, Vol. 9, pages 273–4, and also same Vol. page 249.)

To be Continued.

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

COPIED BY IRA J. PATCH.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 96.

John Andrews, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Corporal John Andrews, taken May 23, 1662, by John Doolittle, John Hathorne & Andrew Mansfield, by request of the widow, amounting to £1116 18s 4d; debts about £758 11s 0d, returned by Mr. Thomas Andrews 27th 4th mo., 1662.

John Balch, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of John Balch of Salem, taken 19th 1st mo., 1662, by Roger Conant & Sam'l Corning, amounting to £189 17s 0d; list of debts £30 0s 0d, returned 24th 4th mo., 1662.

Item in the list of debts:

"For keeping a sick and weakly child, viz, Mary balch, six months, £6 0s 0d.

At a court, 27th 4th mo., 1662.

Mary Balch, widow of John Balch, is appt'd adm'x of her husband's estate, and when all just debts are paid, the whole estate is to be divided between said Mary & Mary their daughter, the whole estate remaining in the widow's hands until her daughter is of age or married.

John Row, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of John Row, dated 15th 8th mo., 1661, gives all his estate to his wife and two sons, John and Hugh. Witnesses—John Collins, sr., John Collins, jr., Stephen Glover.—proved 24th 4th mo., 1662, and the widow and two sons adm'rs.

Inventory of above estate taken 2d day April, 1662, by Sam'l Dolliver, John Collins & Wm. Browne, amounting to £205 16s 10d, returned by Bridget Row, the widow, and John Row, son of the above John 9, June 1662.

David Lewis, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of David Lewis taken 22d June, 1662, amounting to £22 06s 0d; debts £16 8s 0d, returned to the Court and is allowed, and Samuel Archard is apptd to administer in behalf of the country, & to be accountable to this court.

Thos. Wilks, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Wilks taken Nove., 1661, at Boston, by John —— & John Lake, amounting to £70 0s 0d.

Also inventory taken December, 1661, at Salem, by Walter Price & Hilliard Veren, amounting to £30 6s 11½d, returned 25th 4th mo., 1662, and Mr. Edmund Batter appt'd adm'r, who is to dispose of the said estate by advice of this Court.

Robert Gray, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Robert Gray, of Salem, dated 1st 11th mo., 1661, daughter Elizabeth Gray, sons Joseph, Robert, daughters Bethiah, Hannah & Mary; servant Elizabeth Wicks.

Gives "to George Hodgis a quadrant, a fore staffe, a gunter's scale, and a pr of compasses," wife Eliz'h Gray who he appts ex'tr, John Brown and Henry Bartholomew, overseers.

Witness—John Brown and Henry Bartholomew.

proved 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate taken 5th 12th mo., 1661, by John Brown, Richard Prince &

Henry Bartholomew, amounting to £608 01s 0d, returned 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Wm. Browne, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Wm. Browne of Gloucester, dated 29th April. 1662, son in law Abraham Robinson, under 21 years, dau Mary Browne, under 18 years, to be ext'x, wife Mary; witnesses—John Emerson & John Collins, Jr. proved 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate taken May 13, 1662, by John Emerson, Sam'l Dolliver, John Collins and Philip Staynwood amounting to £203 0s 7d, returned by Mary Brown, widow, 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Lawrence Leach, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Lawrence Leach, of Salem, aged 85 years; his debts to be paid, and his wife to have all his estate. Witnesses—John Porter, John Batchelder; proved 25th 4th mo., 1662, & Eliz'h, widow of above, apptd adm'x.

Inventory of above estate taken by John Porter & Jacob Barney, amounting to £138 14s 8d, returned and allowed 24th 4th mo., 1662.

Ann Fuller, 4th mo., 1662.

Will of Ann Fuller, widow, aged 79 years, son Richard Leach, Bethiah Farrow, John Leach & Sarah Leach. Witnesses, Jonathan Walcott, John Rowdon, proved 25th 4th mo., 1662, and Ric'd Leach apptd adm'r.

Inventory of above estate taken by Nath'l Felton, Anthony Buxton, amounting to £23 17s 6d, returned 25th 4th mo., 1662.

Henry Cook, 4th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Henry Cook, deceased the 14th of 11th month, 1661, taken by Nath'l Felton and Henry Bartholomew, amounting to £225, returned by his widow, Judith Cook, and her son Isaack, 26th 4th mo., 1662

List of debts, amounting to £92 05s 8¾d.

Henry Cook's children—Isaac, aged 22: Sam'l 20; John, 14; Henry, 8; Judith, 18; Rachel, 16; Mary and Martha, 12; Hanna, 4.

Israel and Nathan Webster, 9th mo., 1662.

Petition of Israel, 18 yrs, & Nathan Webster, 16 yrs., with the consent of the mother, that their father in law, John Emery, sen'r, and their brother, John Emery, jr., maight be appt'd their guardian, and the petition allowed and confirmed 26th 9th mo., 1662.

Geo. Tarr, 9th mo., 1662.

Will of George Tarr, dated 1st July, 1662, sons John, Lazerous & Benjamin, (Joseph under age,) daughters Mary, Martha, Eliz'h & Sarah.

Mr. Eaton & Francis Burrill, & Allen Breed jr., shall be overseers. Henry Silsby & Francis Burrill, witnesses, proved 26th 9th mo., 1662.

Inventory of above estate taken by Henry Collins, Jr. & Henry Silsby, 24th 9th mo., 1662, amounting to £189 8s 0d, returned 26th 9th mo., 1662.

Thos Smith, 9th mo., 1662.

Inventory of estate of Thomas Smith, of Salem, taken 17th 4th mo., 1662, by Jeffrey Massey & Tho Porter, amounting to £63 15s 0d: list of debts, £39 9s 8d, returned 26th 9th mo., 1662, allowed and ordered to the use of the widow & the bringing up of the children.

John Goyt. 1st mo., 1663.

Inventory of John Goyt. amounting to £34 6s 0d.

Mary Smith, May, 1663,

Will of Mary Smith, wife unto the late James Smith, of Marblehead, dated 28 Mar. 1663, daughter Catherine Eborne, & daughter Mary Rowland, grand children Samuel & Joseph Rowland, Mary Eborne, daughter Mary Rowland's five children, daughter Cathren Eborne, children Mary, Rebecca, Moses, Hannah, James & Sarah, Samuel, son James Smith.

To be Continued.

THE "OLD PLANTERS" OF SALEM, WHO WERE SETTLED HERE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ENDICOTT, IN 1628.

BY GEORGE D. PHIPPEN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, March 5, 1858.

Continued from Page 110.

ROGER CONANT,

Governor of the Plantation at Cape Anne, and Naumkeag. A variety of terms have been used to express Conant's trust at "ye Bay of ye Massachusetts," such as Overseer, Business Agent, Local Manager, &c. Certain it is that he succeeded the two Overseers, Gardner and Tilly, who previously superintended the planting and fishing interests at Cape Anne. We have preferred to adopt the title applied by the Dorchester adventurers themselves, (according to Hubbard,) in their instructions to Mr. Humphrey, their Treasurer, when communicating to Conant that they had chosen him "to be their *Governor* in that place," without discussing the validity of the Cape Anne charter, or the powers conferred by it, or whether Conant was accustomed in magisterial robes to hold courts, make laws, or administer them. This fact cannot be gainsaid, that he was at the head of a respectable Colony, which received from the beginning, both before and after the absorption of the Dorchester Company into the Massachusetts Company, the fostering care of such men as White and Humphrey, members* of both Companies, and that Endicott was sent over to take charge of and strengthen this Colony, verily the corner stone of the Commonwealth, which in due time embraced under its Government the elder Colony of Plymouth, and all the minor settlements around the Bay.

Conant was born at Budleigh, in Devonshire, about 1592. From the Parish Records of East Budleigh, through Mr. "Savage's Gleanings," we learn that he was baptised April 9th, 1593. and that he was probably the son of William Conant, who was married Nov. 26, 1588. Mr. Gibbs, in Farmer's Register, thinks he traces his descent from a worthy family of Gittesham, near Honiton, and that his remote ancestors were of French extraction, but of this we give no opinion. Mr. Felt supposes he came to New England in the same vessel with Lyford, in March, 1624, but a deposition of Conant's seems to place his arrival in the early part of 1623, or perhaps the fall of 1622. [Christopher Conant came over in the "Anne," and arrived at Plymouth in 1623.]

The name of Roger Conant is so interwoven with the early days of the Colony, that in relating its history, we have given much of Conant's also.

During his residence at Cape Anne, an event occurred which reflected great credit upon him, and illustrated a marked feature in his character. The Episcopal portion of the Plymouth Adventurers at home, who had withdrawn from the Company, at the rupture occasioned by the Lyford discussion there, hastily despatched a fishing vessel to the Cape on their own account, Hewes, master, who, upon arrival, took summary possession of a fishing stage, and other conveniences that had been erected by the New Plymouth people; intending no doubt to usurp this Episcopal scion of the Plymouth Colony as their own. The valiant Capt Standish was early on the spot and demanded immediate evacuation. Hewes's party, knowing with whom they had to deal, fortified themselves at the stage head, behind a barricade built of hogsheads, and defied Standish and his men, and by the advantages of situation, &c., which they possessed, could easily have destroyed them. A battle of words only, however, decided the fortunes of the day.—Hubbard says, "the dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them, which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter, had not the prudence and moderation of Mr. Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Peirce's interposition,

*Humphrey was a member of both Companies, and there is scarce a doubt that White was also, and probably others of the Massachusetts Company.

that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented." The matter was at last settled, by Peirce's crew promising to help the aggrieved fishermen build another stage, and so they allowed Hewes to keep it.

This disturbance, not settled without great and paintul exertion on the part of Conant, must have gone far in convincing him that the permanency and stability of the Colony rested more upon its agricultural than its fishing interest, and his settlement at Naumkeag as a more suitable place for planting, resulted from special explorations subsequently made for that end.

Conant says that he built the first house erected in Salem, where, together with its adjoining town and offspring, Beverly, he spent the major part of his valuable life,

He was admitted a freeman, May 18, 1631; was chosen one of the Deputies to the General Court, at their first meeting in 1634; was often one of the twelve Selectmen for the management of town affairs, and also of the board who presided over the landed interests of the town, and in 1637, was one of the magistrates of the "Quarter Court," so called.

In 1636, he was upon a Committee for the inspection of the canoes of the town, which it should be remembered were the principal vehicles for travel and convenience. A writer of that day says, "there be more canowes in this town than in all the whole Patent, every household having a water horse or two."*

Conant bore his share of ecclesiastical as well as municipal duties; in 1663, he was a delegate at the ordination of Mr. Newman, over the Church at Wenham; in 1667 he led in the organization of the first Church in Beverly, and his name stands first on its list of members.

But a few years before his death, he presented the following petition to General Court in relation to the town of Beverly, which is now cherished as a document of great value, and it is so suggestive of his character, that we present it entire; it is dated May 28, 1671, and reads as follows :—*

"To the honorabel Generall Court, consisting of Magistrates and Deputies.

"The umble peticion of Roger Conant of Basriuer, alias Beuerly, who haue bin a planter in New England fortie eight yeers and vpward, being one of the first, if not the very first, that resolued and made good my settlement vnder God, in matter of plantation with my family, in this collony of the Massachuset Bay, and haue bin instrumentall, both for the founding and carring on of the same, and when in the infancy thereof, it was in great hassard of being deserted, I was a means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few that then were heere with me, and that my vtter deniall to goe away with them, who would haue gon either for England or mostly for Virginia, but thereupon stayed to the hassard of our liues. Now my umble sute and request is vnto this honorabel Court onlie that the name of our towne or plantation may be altred or changed from Beuerly and be called Budleigh. I haue two reasons that haue moued me vnto this request. The first is the great dislike and discontent of many of our people for this name of Beuerly, because (wee being but a smale place) it hath caused on vs a constant nickname of beggarly, being in the mouths of many, and no order was giuen or consent by the people heere to their agent for any name vntill they were shure of being a town granted in the first place, Secondly I being the first that had house in Salem (and neuer had any hand in naming either that or any other towne) and myself with those that were then with me, being all from the western part of England, desire this western name of Budleigh, a market towne in Deuonsheer and neere vnto the sea as we are heere in this place, and where myself was borne. Now in regard of our firstnesse and antiquity in this soe famous a colony, we

*Wood's New England Prospect.

*Mass. His. Collections, 3d S., 7, 252, or Gen. Register, 2d vol., 333.

should umblie request this littell priuelidg with your fauors and consent, to giue this name abousaid vnto our town. I neuer yet made sute or request unto the Generall Court for the least matter, tho' I thinke I might as well haue done, as many others haue, who haue obtained much without hassard of life or preferring the publick good before theire own interest, which, I praise God, I haue done. If this my sute may find acceptation with your worships, I shall rest vmbly thankfull and my praires shall not cease vnto the throne of grace for God's guidance and his blessing to be on all your waightie proceedings and that iustice and righteousness may be euerie where administred, and sound doctrine, truth and holiness euerie where taught and practised throughout this wildernes, to all posterity, which God grant. Amen.

"Your worships' vmble petitioner and seruant,

"ROGER CONANT."

His petition was not granted ; his claims to their consideration, however, were not overlooked, for at the same session they granted him as "a very ancient planter," two hundred acres of land, afterward set off near Dunstable, which land is mentioned in his will made in the eighty-fifth year of his age, now preserved among our Probate Records of Essex, at the Salem Court House. He died Nov. 19, 1679, in his eighty eighth year, and descended to his grave like a shock of corn fully ripe, and the melancholy tidings were borne to thousands of households where but fifty years before he had erected the first dwelling.

Conant possessed elements of great firmness, at the same time he was mild and conciliatory ; the possession of such a character, independent of place or honors, bears its own reward.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

He had seven children, four sons and three daughters, viz :*

Lot, born 1624, died 1674.

Roger, born 1626, died June 15, 1672.

Mary, born ————, married first, John Balch, second, William Dodge.

Sarah, born ———.

Exercise, [a son,] bap : Dec. 24, 1637, died April 28, 1722.

Elizabeth, born ———.

Joshua, who died in 1659.

The Conant family have descended to the present time through Roger's sons, Lot and Exercise, and among them have been men of talent and influence. Roger and Joshua had few or no descendants. Lot was the ancestor of the local or Beverly branch, who are well represented in that town, Ipswich and neighborhood at the present day. Exercise removed to Boston and is the ancestor of a family who have spread largely in Connecticut. Descendants have borne the name of Roger, through many generations, and it is likely, we hope, to be continued to a distant period of time.

On the fly leaf of an old Bible, once the property of the Conants, but now in possession of Chas. W. Palfrey, Esq., is this entry,— "The 4 day of May 1672 being Saturday my dere littel sone Samuel Conant dyed. The 15 of June 1672 being Saturday—my dere, dere, dere husband Roger Conant dyed." This was written by the widow of Roger Conant, jr., son of Roger who lost both her son and husband in the short space of six weeks.

Roger Conant, Jr., the second son, was the first child born in Salem, (1626,) and the town in recognition of this circumstance, granted him on the 21, 11 mo., 1639, twenty acres of land.

Governor's Island in Boston Harbor, was early known as Conant's Island. Conant street in Salem, not far from the Old Planter's settlement, was so named about twenty-five years since, at the suggestion of Major Conant of Beverly. An extended notice of Conant by

*A genealogy of Conant's descendants is in progress by our townsman, J. F. Worcester, Esq., to whom I am indebted for facts.

Rev. J. B Felt, appeared in the Genealogical Register of July and October, 1848.*

JOHN LYFORD.

The minister of the Old Planters, at Cape Anne and Naumkeag, was originally sent over by the Plymouth Adventurers, to be pastor of the people at Plymouth ; he seems to have been selected by a faction of the Company, and that much the larger part, with a design to oppose the Congregationalism inculcated by Robinson, and restore the Colony to the Episcopal fold ; both Cushman and Winslow, then in London, were opposed to him, but finally consented "to give contente to some."

Lyford had resided in England but a short time prior to being selected for this mission, having been previously settled in Ireland. He probably came over on the return of Winslow with supplies, in the ship Charity, which arrived in March, 1624.

Cushman, in his letter of January 24, 1623, [1624 new style,] says : "The preacher we have sent is (we hope,) and honest plaine man though none of ye most eminente and rare ; about chusing him into office, use your owne liberty and discretion."

When he came on shore he was exceedingly complaisant, and was received with great cordiality, by the Plymouth people. "They gave him ye best entertainment yey could," they furnished him a dwelling in one of their best houses, and apportioned a larger allowance of food out of the common store to him and his family than to any other person, and of clothing as they severally had need. Gov. Bradford, in deference to his calling was accustomed to consult with him in all "waightie affairs," as was his habit with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, and he was otherwise by the Colonists generally, held in especial favor.

Cushman, in the letter above quoted, says "he [Lyford,] knows he is no officer amongst you, though perhaps custome and universalitie may make him forget himself," which according to Bradford, he most effectually did, and caused the Pilgrims a vast deal of trouble the first three or four months of his residence with them, during which time he acted as their preacher, displaying abilities but little superior to their Elder, Mr. Brewster.

He was without doubt a great dissembler. Upon uniting with the Plymouth Church, shortly after his arrival, " he made a large confession of faith, acknowledging former disorderly walking and being entangled with many corruptions," and that "he held not himselfe a minister till he had a new calling," and thanked the Lord for the privilege of enjoying "ye ordinances of God in puritie among his people," yet before the return of the ship that brought him over, he had laid open his revolutionary plans to the energetic but troublesome John Oldham, and with a few adherents, they secretly pursued their plot with great earnestness ; "at length when ye ship was ready to goe, it was observed Lyford was long in writing & sente many letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his intimates sueh things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently." One of these confederates wrote at the same time, "that Mr. Oldhame & Mr. Liford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth ; and, as soone as the ship was gone, they intended to joyne togeather, and have the sacrements" administered by Lyford's former Episcopal calling. The suspicions of Gov. Bradford became aroused, and "knowing how matters stood in England" with the adventurers, "and what hurt these things might doe, he tooke a shalop and wente out with the ship a league or two to sea," and intercepted and opened upwards of twenty of Lyford and Oldham's letters, "full of slanders and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their ruin and utter subversion." This singular visit of the Governor caused this covert faction some uneasiness at first, but as

*References.—Town Rec. Felt's. Salem, Gen. Reg. 2, 329 c 333. Mass. His Col. 37, 250–60, and 38, 306. Hutchinson, Hubbard, and Prince.

he kept the information thus obtained to himself, after a few weeks they became "as briske as ever," thinking nothing had been discovered, and Lyford deeming his party now strong enough, openly "without, [says Bradford,] ever speaking one word either to ye Governor, Church or Elder, withdrewe themselves and set up a publick meeting aparte on ye Lord's day, with sundry other "insolent cariages" to the disturbance of both Church and State. "It was now thought high time (to prevent further mischeefe) to calle them to accounte; so ye Governor called a Courte, and summoned the whole company to appeare, and then charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of." Which resulted in their condemnation and expulsion from the Colony; "Oldham presently," but Lyford was allowed six months grace, and Oldham's family had liberty to remain during the coming winter. This took place probably early in the summer of 1624. They fled to Nantasket and were voluntarily followed by Roger Conant and a few others of the Church party, with their families, as before related.

Both Lyford and Oldham afterward became in part reconciled with the Plymouth people, and occasionally returned to the Colony. It was probably in the early part of the next year, while still living at Nantasket, that they were invited with Conant to remove to Cape Anne.

The Rev. Mr. White and the Dorchester Merchants were deceived in Lyford, and perhaps imposed upon, and Conant who was without reproach, and eminently a peace-maker, may through love of the established church and sympathy for Lyford's family, have been unbelieving and blinded to his faults and instability of character, until his eyes were opened at the time of his heartless desertion at Naumkeag, and endeavor to break up the Colony.

Nothing but his unscrupulous zeal for Episcopacy was alleged against his conduct while in this country, and we have reason to believe that his followers and adherents were in the main attached to him and his family; he appears to have been a person of agreeable manners and address, and as a preacher of moderate but not brilliant abilities, and both at Cape Anne and Naumkeag, he undoubtedly continued his ministrations with acceptance, conducting a church after his prior ordination and in accordance with the usages and requirements of the Episcopal Church.*

He was Conant's preacher about three years; and as we believe for the last eight or ten months of the time, and perhaps longer, at Naumkeag, that is through the winter of 1625-6, to near the end of the summer of 1627.

On the banks of the North River, full two years before the establishment of the First Church, so called, at Salem, or the ordination of Higginson and Skelton,—the rights and ordinances of the Gospel were administered to the "Old Planters" in an appropriate place of worship, and their voices in united prayer ascended to Heaven in the sublime words of the English Litany: "We beseach Thee to hear us Good Lord," "That it may please thee to succor, help and comfort all who are in danger, necessity and tribulation." And over the waters echoed their anthems of praise: "For the Lord is a Great God and a Great King above all Gods. In his hands are all the corners of the earth, and the strength of the hills is His also."

We think it highly probable that the "loving invitation" given Lyford, to settle in Virginia, was made by Mr. Fells and his party, who, with many servants, and a large quantity of "plantation commodities," while on a voyage to Virginia, were wrecked near Cape Cod, early in the beginning of the winter of 1626. This party remained at Plymouth the next summer, and planted corn and raised a few swine, and by mutual trade were of some

* As Roger Conant's son Roger, born in 1626, was not baptized at the First Church, after his father united with it, as all his brothers and sisters were, it is presumptive proof that he was baptized previously, that is by Lyford.

advantage to the Colony, they tarried in expectation of releasing their vessel from the sand, or otherwise waited for some chance opportunity of conveyance te Virginia. Mr. Fells visited Cape Anne, and "ye Bay of ye Massachusetts," which we suppose to mean Naumkeag, for this purpose, and returned unsuccessful to Plymouth. They finally succeeded in obtaining passage thither in a "cuple of barks at ye latter end of sumer" of 1627, which vessels had brought corn to the Plymouth people, and probably Lyford and a few of Conant's company departed with them. All that we know of Lyford further, is, that "he shortly after dyed" in Virginia.

Lyford had a large family; and this was one of the objections that Winslow, the Company's agent, than in London, had to his being sent over, viz: "his great charge of children." When he was expelled from Plymouth, he had a "wife, and children four or five," their names are unknown to us * His wife is represented as "being a grave matron, and of good carriage all ye while she was here." After her husband's death, she "returned againe to this country." Of his descendants we know nothing. A family bearing this surname resides in Newburyport, and the name is occasionally met with in New Hampshire. It is however, comparatively rare in New England.

For a further account of Lyford, see Bradford's History of Plymouth, Mass. His. Coll. vol. 43. Also Young's Chron. of Mass., Prince's Annals, Felt's, Salem, Hubbard, &c.

A full account of John Oldham, is given in Bradford's Hist. of Plymouth, and Bond's Hist. of Watertown,

JOHN WOODBURY,

Came from Somersetshire, was made a freeman May 18, 1631. Both he and his wife Agnes are among the original members of the First Church. With Palfrey, he was one of the deputies of the General Court, in 1635, and again 1638. One of the five farms, being one-fifth of the great one thousand acre lot, at the head of Bass River, was granted him January 4, 1635; these farms were surveyed by himself and John Balch.

It is stated in an article by Robert Rantoul, Esq., in Mass. His. Coll., and also by Rev. Mr. Stone, in his History of Beverly, that John Woodbury and his brother William, removed over to the Cape Anne side, afterward Beverly, about 1630, to a spot near that which is now called Woodbury's Point. It is supposed that all the Woodburys in New England are descendants of these two brothers

To Mr. Stone, also, we are indebted for the following tradition :

After the farms at Bass River were occupied, the only way of communication with them from Woodbury's Point, was by water, or along the sea-shore and margin of the river. A heifer was driven along this winding way from the point to the head of the river, where it was to remain at pasture : but judge of the surprise of her owner, who, upon retracing his steps, found that the animal, not liking its abode, had reached home before him: its tracks were accordingly traced out, and a more direct path through the woods thereby discovered, which subsequently became a road of communication between the two places, and although upwards of two hundred years have since elapsed, yet so far as direction is concerned, neither science nor skill have done much to improve what instinct first projected.

Mr Woodbury, after a life of energy, and faithfulness to the interests of the Colony died in 1641; we do not know his age, but probably not much above sixty years.

He was called "Father" Woodbury, however, as early as 1635, which may have been a title due him as one on whom many leaned for counsel and advice; we regard him as standing next to Conant in intelligence and usefulness to the Colony.

His descendants are numerous, many still live around the spot that witnessed his trials

* As this family of six or seven persons removed so early from the Colony, they were not added in the computation of its numerical strength, in a former page.

and suffering, and the ancient homestead with no other deed than the original grant, still remains in the family.

Among his descendants have been many worthy and influential men, and some have occupied high places in the land.

The Hon. Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, under President Jackson, was the son of Peter Woodbury, who was born in Beverly, as all his ancestors were.

He descended from Peter, the son of the primitive John, through Josiah, then Peter, to the third Peter, who was his father. Mr. Cranch, in the 1st vol. of Gen. Reg., represents Peter incorrectly as the son of Humphrey; Peter was Humphrey's brother, and both sons of the original John. Humphrey had a son Peter, who was killed in 1675, at the early age of twenty-two, while serving under Captain Lathrop, who commanded the "Flower of Essex," as his company has been called, at the famous Indian battle at Muddybrook, September 18th, after that year.

Beside Humphrey, who came over with his father on his return in 1628, having then just arrived at seniority, being born in 1607; we have the names of such children as are recorded among the baptisms of the First Church, but whether there were others between these and Humphrey we know not.

Hannah, bap. 25 of 10, 1636.

Abigail, bap. 12 of 9, 1637.

Peter, bap. 19 of 7, 1640.

Humphrey had sundry grants of land from the town of Salem In 1637, forty acres. He married Elizabeth ————, and had sons and daughters; he was a member of the First Church in Salem, and afterward deacon of the First Church in Beverly at its organization. He lived to be upwards of three score and ten years of age. His widow died in Beverly about 1689.

Peter, son of John, was made a freeman 1668—representative to General Court 1689—was also a deacon of the Beverly church, married and had children—he died July 5, 1704, aged 64 years.*

WILLIAM WOODBURY.

Brother of John, had grants of land in Salem; he died the latter part of 1676; his will, dated 1, 4 mo., 1663, was probated 26, 4 mo. 1677; he left his dwelling house, household goods, and most of his lands to his wife Elizabeth; his children were Nicholas, the eldest son, and William, Andrew, Hugh, Isaac, and a daughter Hannah Hascall. Nicholas and Hugh had lands granted them in Salem also. William was one of the five witnesses to the signing of the Indian deed of the territory of Salem, when transferred to the Town, Oct. 11, 1686, by the grand children of Sagamore George and others.

JOHN BALCH,

Belonged to a very ancient family of Somersetshire, who had a seat at St. Andries, near Bridgewater, but now believed to be extinct there. He is thought to have been a son of George Balch, who was born in 1536, and who had sons George and John. George, the eldest by two years, is supposed to have been the ancestor of the St Andries family. John, born about 1579, came to New England with Captain Robert Gorges, in September, 1623. The spot on which he settled in Salem, being in the field called very early, the "old planters' marsh." His homestead was no doubt on five acres of upland and meadow there, which we think could now be approximately pointed out. It was situated north of the Skerry lot of two acres, which Francis Skerry† bought of Peter Palfrey, in 1653, which said five acres Benjamin Balch, son of John, bought his brother's right therein in 1658. This also designates

*Young 28. Gen. Reg. 1, 84 and 8, 168. Felt's Salem. Stone's Beverly Town Rec. Church Rec. Mass. His. Coll. [Hubbard,] 25, 107, and 37, 352–4.

†The Skerry family own or very recently owned land upon or near the same spot.

Palfrey's lot as on the south (or southwest) and further up the peninsula.

John Balch had two wives, Margaret and Agnes ; in his will the latter is called Annis. Her own inventory is recorded 9 mo., 1657, as that of Agnes Balch. John, with his first wife, Margaret, were among the original members of the First Church. He was made a freeman May 18, 1631, had a grant of one of the five farms of two hundred acres each, at the head of Bass River, January 25, 1635-6, to which he removed three years afterward, and where he lived till his death, in June 1648, aged about 69 years.

This farm was situated near the present residence of Mr. John Bell, which is designated upon the new map of Essex County : some of his descendants still live upon or near the same spot. Mr. Balch sustained various trusts from the town, as selectman, surveyor, &c. "He appears to have possessed the qualifications of resolution, perseverance, integrity and intelligence necessary to the founding and guiding of a new community." He died about May, 1648, when his corn was in its tender leaf. He left three sons, Benjamin, John, and Freeborn. His will, dated May 15, 1648, was witnessed by Peter Palfrey, Nicholas Patch, and Jeffry Massey. Palfrey and Massey proved the same in Court a fortnight after, viz : 28 of 4 mo., 1648. Wife Annis and son Benjamin, Executors, and John Proctor and William Woodbury, overseers. Inventory returned valued £220, 13s, 4d., consisting chiefly of tillage and meadow land, and cattle.

Among his cattle he mentions two cows by name, "Reddie" and "Cherrie," and another that he had bred up expressly for his son Freeborn. He mentions his great fruit trees, and also his young apple trees, and his corn that is growing upon the ground. His widow Agnes died about 1657, after "long weakness and sickness."

Benjamin, the eldest son, was born in 1629, the next year after the arrival of Governor Endicott, and three years after his father's settlement at Naumkeag, and it has been erroneously maintained* that he was the first white child born in Salem. He inherited the larger portion of his father's property. He had children, Samuel, John, Joseph, and Freeborn. This Joseph was slain in 1675, at the fatal Indian battle at Muddy Brook.

John's son John married Mary, the daughter of Roger Conant ; he was drowned when crossing the ferry near the Old Planters' homes, then called Ipswich ferry, in a small skiff, during a violent storm, June 16, 1662 ; his widow afterwards married William Dodge, who was the ancestor of all the Dodges, and settled in the neighborhood of the five Bass River farms. The neighboring towns of Wenham and Hamilton contain many of his descendants, and this surname is by far the most common name in those towns.

Freeborn, who is believed to have been born the year his father was made freeman, in 1631, and was probably so named in allusion to that fact. He inherited one quarter of his father's property. He lived near Wenham Lake. It is supposed he went to England and never returned. He probably died about 1658, as his name then disappears from our records.

The present Balch family at Salem, have descended to our time through John's son,

*Roger Conant, Jr., born in 1626, was, without doubt, the first white child born in Salem, and in 1639, when he was but a youth of 13 years of age, and still trotted on his parent's knees, he received a grant of land from the town, in token of that precedence. There need be no confusion regarding the unauthorized claims either of Balch or Massey, to that circumstance of fortune. Benjamin Balch, as shown above, was born three years after Conant. In 1686, forty-six years after the above public recognition, when both Conants were dead, John Massey, in order to strengthen his petition for the Ferry, stated that he was the *oldest* town born child *then living* there. Eighteen years later, in 1704, and sixty-four years after the award to Conant, the First Church through careless tradition or other miscontruction, voted Massey, who was then aged, an old Bible, "he being considered the first town born child." See a similar explanation by Mr. Felt, with references in Gen. Reg. vol. 10, 170.

Benjamin. The Rev. William Balch, of Bradford, a grandson of Benjamin, was one of the subscribers to Prince's Chronology, and his copy with some of his writing therein, is still preserved in the family. Our venerable townsman, Benjamin Balch, is William's grandson.*

To be Continued.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE INGERSOLL FAMILY.

For an account of Richard Ingersoll and his children, see Number 1, page 12. George, son of Richard had a wife named Elizabeth.

2D GENERATION.

Children of George, son of Richard. 1st son name unknown, killed by Indians: George d 1730 ; Samuel ; John d 1716 ; Joseph, Mary & Elizabeth.

Children of John Ingersoll and Judith Felton. John b 12th 7th mth 1644 ; Nath'l b 10th 2d mth 1647: Ruth b 20th 4th mth 1649; Richard b 1st 7th mth 1651 ; Sarah b 28th 6th mth 1655 ; Samuel b 6th 8th mth 1658 ; Joseph b 9th 10th mth 1661, d 1661 ; Hannah b 11th 1st mth 1663, d 1663.

Children of Alice Ingersoll and Jonathan Wolcott, unknown.

Children of Bathsheba I and John Knight Jr., of Newbury, were 8, as appears by Deacon Nathaniel Ingersoll's will. Among them were John and Joseph.

Children of Joana or Jane Ingersoll and Richard Pettengill: Matthew, Samuel, Mary and Nathaniel

Children of Sarah Ingersoll (1st husband, Wm. Haynes, bro to Lt. Gov'r Haynes) and Joseph Houlton: Joseph, James, John, Elizabeth and Sarah Houlton.

3D GENERATION.

George, son of George, md Nicholson :— Child, David.

Samuel, son of George, md Elizabeth Wakefield, 1702. Children : Mary b Aug. 6, 1704 : Samuel b Aug. 14, 1706 ; Mary b Aug. 18, 1708. (I suspect this is erroneous, and that it should come one generation later)

John, son of George, b 1645. d 1715, md Deborah —. Children: Elisha, Nath'l, John, Ephraim, Deborah b 1668, md Benj'n Larrabee ; Mary md Low ; Rachel md John Chapman ; Abigail md Blacey : another dau name unknown md Brown, and died before her father.

Joseph, son of George, married daughter of Matthew Coe of Portland. Child : Benjamin.

Mary, dau of George.

Elizabeth, dau of George.

John, son of John and Judith Felton, bapt. 7th 12th mth 1644, married Mary Cooms Mch 17, 1670. Children, Mary b 10th 7th mth 1761, md George Cox ; John bap Sept. 1, 1678; Sarah and Elizabeth bap Mch 15th, 1702, adults ; Ruth b 2d 12th mth 1673, md Zach Fowler.

Samuel, son of John and Judith Felton died about 1695, b 6th Oct. 1658, md Sarah — b Dec. 11th, 1665. Children, Sarah b Oct. 12, 1687; Margaret b April 8, 1690 ; Susannah b Dec. 4, 1692 ; Samuel and Sarah md 28th April, 1684. Sarah was md wife to Philip English. Susanna probably died young, as she is not mentioned in the acpt of guardianship rendered by her mother.

Nathaniel, son of John and Judith, b 2d 10th mth, 1647, married Mary Preston, 8th 8th mth 1670, d Sept. 28, 1684. Children : Elizabeth b 11th 12th mth, 1672 ; John b 7th 8th mth, 1674 , Nathaniel b died 1704.

Ruth, daughter of John and Judith, b 20th 4th mth, 1649, married Richard Ropes 7th 4th mth, 1670. Children : Richard b April 20th, 1674 ; John ——— b Aug. 16, 1678.

Richard, son of John and Judith, bapt 1st 7th mth, 1651, married Sarah—, died Nov. 27, 1683.

Child : Richard.

Sarah, daughter of John and Judith, bapt 28th 6th mth, 1655, married David Ropes July 26th, 1676. Children : Jonathan ; Sarah b Jan. 9th, 1680 ; William b March 5, 1685 ;

*Book of Grants. Young Chron. of Mass., 26.— Mr. Balch in Gen. Reg. 9, 234. Mass. His. Coll. "Rantoul" 37, 254, and Hubbard.

George b August 12, 1688 ; Joseph b Jan'y 11, 1692 ; John b Jan'y 25, 1694.

Joseph, son of John and Judith, bapt 10th mth 9th, 1661, and died the same year.

Hannah, daughter of John and Judith, bapt 10th 1st mth, 1663, died the same year.

4TH GENERATION.

Ruth Ingersoll, daughter of John and Mary Cooms, married Zachariah Fowler. Children, Mary, Ruth, Elizabeth and Zechariah.

Samuel, son of John and Mary Cooms, married July 29, 1702, Sarah, daughter of Capt. Stephen Haskett. Children, Nathaniel, md Bethiah Gardner, Sept. 1, 1737 ; John, md Elizabeth Bray,-May 9, 1741.

Mary, daughter of John and Mary Cooms b 10th 7th mth, 1671, married George Cox.

John, son of John and Mary Cooms, died young.

John 3d, son of Nathaniel and Mary Preston, b 7th 8th mth, 1674.

Children, Elizabeth, md Lawrence Knight, Nov. 2d, 1696. Issue : Nathaniel, b March 29th, 1698: Elizabeth, b August 5, 1700 ; John, b May 20th, 1703.

Richard, son of Richard & Sarah, and grandson of John and Judith, md Ruth Dodge of Beverly, April 28th, 1699.

5TH GENERATION.

John, son of Samuel and Sarah Haskett, md Elizabeth, dau of Capt. Daniel Bray, May 9th, 1741, by Rev. James Diman. Elizabeth his wife d aged 56. Children. John and Samuel,

Nathaniel, son of Samuel and Sarah Haskett, md Bethiah Gardner, Sept. 1, 1737.—Child : Nathaniel died unmarried.

David, Jonathan, John, Samuel, daughter Hannah md John Pickering, son of Wm. and Eunice ; one of the name (Hannah) was baptized at Episcopal Church, June 29th, 1744.

Jonathan, son of Nathaniel & Sarah Haskett, married 1st, Mary Hodges, sister of Jonathan ; 2d, Polly Pool, sister of Ward and Fitch ; and 3d, Sarah Blythe, widow of Samuel, whose maiden name was Sarah Purbeck.

John, son of Nathaniel & Sarah Haskett, md 1st, Hannah Bowditch, & 3d, Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas Crosby, (living June, 1859) over 90 years of age.

Samuel, son of John & Elizabeth Bray, married at Hampton to Susannah Hathorne, Oct., 1772. Samuel d 15th July, 1804, aged 60.

NEXT GENERATION.

Children of Jonathan, all by his first wife, Mary Hodges—Nathaniel, George, Mary, md Dr. Bowditch.

Children of John & Hannah Bowditch : John, married Mary Hunt, and died without issue. She afterwards md John Burley.

Nath'l married Margaret Foote, whose mother was a Crowninshield.

Children of Samuel Ingersoll & Susannah Hathorne : Ebenezer b 1781, died July 2d, 1804, no issue; Susannah died 13th July, 1858, never married.

NOTES ON AMERICAN CURRENCY.—No. 1.

BY M. A. STICKNEY.

The history of the copper coins, which found a circulation in the Colonies, for the first hundred years after their settlements, is involved in great obscurity. I have carefully searched the records and histories of that period, with but little success. Even tradition has failed to hand down to us any correct account of them.

The government of Great Britain, from which the Colonies would have probably received most of their supplies, appear to have very reluctantly adopted a copper coinage.

A very few pieces only were struck during the reign of Elizabeth* and her immediate successors, but no general coinage of sufficient

*The first copper coins, struck by Great Britain, were for Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1601. She ordered "certayne pieces of small monies of meere copper, of Pence, Half-pence and Farthings, for the poorer sort, to be stamped, with her highnes armes crowned, and inscription, of her usual

amount to have found their way here in large quantities, until the reign of George the First

The coinage of copper was viewed by the people of that period as an experiment, of which the projectors themselves were uncertain of its usefulness. The large issues of small silver coins, such as twopennies, pennies, and even farthings, from the British Mint, furnished a sufficient medium to transact all the small operations of trade. They however did not reach this country in sufficient quantities for business, and our ancestors were obliged to use in their stead, various substitutes, such as shells, beads, and even bullets, as appears from the Massachusetts Colony records of March 4th, 1635. It was ordered that "muskett bulletts of a full boare shall passe currantly for a farthing a peece provided that noe man be compelled to take above 12d att a tyme of them." In 1652, Massachusetts established a Mint to coin silver shillings and sixpences. Small change being very scarce, the General Court in 1652, ordered the Mint master to coin twopenny pieces, and according to Ruding, pennies, none of which are now known.

About this time (1662,) Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, coined silver and also copper for the use of that colony. Only one of the copper coins is now known to be in existence, the last possessor of it was Dimsdale, the banker, at whose sale it realized nine guineas. It is now in the British Museum. It had on its obverse, Cæcilius Dux Terræ Mariæ, &c. Bust of Lord Baltimore to the right, as on his silver coin, mint mark on both sides a cross patee. Reverse, Denarium Terræ Mariæ, two flags issuing out of a ducal coronet, the crest of Lord Baltimore.

There is in the British Museum a half penny, Obv an elephant, Rev. God preserve Carolina and the Lords Proprietors, 1694. This is common y called the Carolina half penny, but the intention of it is not known. There is another, Obv like the above. Rev. God preserve New England, 1694.

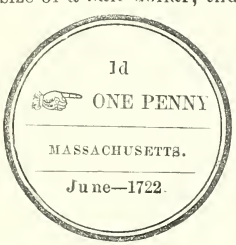
On the 5th of July, 1700, the Board of Trade took into consideration the state of the coins in the plantation. Mr. John Fysack read a memorial proposing the erection of a Mint, on the Continent, as a means to remedy many inconveniences in the trade of the past. After full consideration of the matter, their lordships did not think fit that any Mint should be erected there. Such was the scarcity of change in Massachusetts, that many individuals stamped pieces of brass and tin and passed them for a penny each. March 3d, 1701, a Committee of General Court report in favor of having Province pence made of copper. It was negatived by the Council.

March 26th, 1703, a proposition is laid before the General Court, that William Chalkhill, who had been an officer in her Majesty's Mint, but then a resident of Boston, be contracted with to import from England £5000 worth of copper pence. This project must have also failed, as no pence were coined by the British Government till 1722, and then only for America.

stile, on the one side, and on the other, with crowned harp, being the arms of this her kingdome of Ireland, with the inscription Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum." Only the pennies are now known, one of which is in my collection; it is of the size of a half cent, and of the greatest rarity. James I, by proclamation, made current May 19, 1613, a copper farthing, Obv. Jaco. D. G. Mag. Brit. two sceptres crossing under a diadem. Rev. Fra Et. Hib. Rex. crowned harp. 1635. Charles I also issued copper farthings, like those of his father, (only Caro. instead of Jaco. and sometimes a rose instead of a harp.) It is probable that the last found a currency here to some extent, as I have in my collection a copper farthing of Charles I, of the size of a three cent piece, found by Hardy Phippen, Esq., on his lot on the extreme eastern end of Hardy Street, on the harbour, where he also found four or five pieces of the N. E. Pine Tree pieces, numerous indian arrow-heads, a pipe, and also what appeared to be the ruins of a house, though no one can remember of having heard of any house ever being erected there. This coin was presented to me by George D. Phippen, Esq., in 1849. During the period of the Commonwealth of Oliver Cromwell and Richard, only pattern pieces of copper money were issued.

February 5th, 1716, a plan was started for the coinage of base money here, one third copper, and the rest silver, to pass in New England; but the Ministry in England would allow no such thing to be done.

1722, defeated in all their attempts to procure a currency in copper, small coins being exceedingly scarce, General Court ordered an emission of £500 worth of penny, twopenny and threepenny bills. The form of the first of these bills was round, of the second square, and of the third, angular. They were printed on parchment, in the old English letter. I have the one penny, it is of the size of a dollar, its edge is ornamented with flowers, the printing is enclosed in a ring, making the place of the printing the size of a half dollar, thus :—



The square bill of twopenny, is in the collection of W. W. Greenough, Esq., of Boston. The threepenny bill I have never seen they are all extremely rare. These bills are noticed in the Rev. Joseph B. Felt's very valuable work upon the Massachusetts Currency.

THE ENDICOTT HOUSE, IN SALEM.

Messrs Editors:—Francis Higginson landed at Salem on the 30th of June, 1629. In a letter to friends in England, the July following, he says,—"When we came first to Naimkecke, (now called Salem), we found about half a score houses built, and a fayre house newly built for the governor." Mr. Felt, in his "Annals of Salem," p. 122, informs us that "according to the deposition of Richard Brackenbury, the mansion here spoken of was made from materials of another, first erected at Cape Ann, under the Dorchester Associates, which probably served for the residence of Roger Conant, while Governor of that plantation." "Part of its timber," he adds, "is said to be contained in the dwelling, formerly a tavern, on the corner of Court (now Washington) and Church streets."

Having recently had occasion to make a copy of the deposition above named from the record in the Essex Registry of Deeds, I send it to you for insertion in your columns, believing that its perusal will be as interesting to some of your readers as it has been to myself, and feeling quite certain that all of them will agree with me in the opinion that there is little in the present appearance of this ancient mansion to indicate that it was once "a tasteful edifice of two stories high, of the order of architecture called the Elizabethan, which was but a slight remove from the Gothic."

Richard Brackenbury of Beuerly in the County of Essex, in New England aged eighty years, Testifieth, that he the said Richard came to New England, with John Endecott Esqr, late Gouenor in New England, deceased and that wee came ashore at the place now caled Salem the 6th of September in the yeare of our Lord, 1628: fifty two years agoe: at Salem wee found liueing, old Goodman Norman, & his sonn: William Allen and Walter Knight, & others, those owned that they came ouer upon the acct of a company in England, caled by us by the name of Dorchester Company or Dorchester Marchants, they had sundry houses built at Salem, as alsoe John Woodberye, Mr Conant, Peeter Palfery, John Balch & others, & they declared that they had an house built at Cape Ann for the dorchester Company: and I haueing waited upon Mr Endecott, when he atended the company of the Massachusetts Pattentees, when they kept theire court in Cornwell streete in London I understood that this company of London haueing bought out the right of the of the Dorchester marchants in New England, that Mr Endecott had power to take possession of theire right in New England, which Mr Endecott did, & in prticuler of an house built at Cape Ann, which Walter Knight and the rest said they built for Dorchester men: & soe I was sent with them to Cape ann, to pull downe the said house for Mr. Endecott's use, the which wee did, and the same yeare wee came ouer according to my best remembrance, it was that wee tooke a further possession, on the north side of Salem ferrye, comonly caled Cape an side, by cutting thach for our houses, & soone after laid out lotts for tillage land on the said Cape an side, & quickly after sundrye houses were built, on the said Cape an side & I myselfe haue liued there, now for about 40 yeares, & I with sundry others haue beene subduing the wildernes & improuing the fields and comons there, as a part of Salem, while wee belonged to it & since as inhabitants of Beuerly for these fifty yeares & never yt I heard of disturbed in our possession, either by the Indians or others saue in our late unhappy warr, with the heathen, neether haue I heard by myselfe or any other inhabitants, nither for the space of these fifty yeares, that Mr Mason or any by from or under him did take any possession or lay any claime to any lands heare saue now in his last claime within this yeare or two:

Richard Brackenbury made oath to the truth of the above written this 20th daye of January 1680–1 before me Bartholomew Gedney assistant in the Collony of Massachusetts.

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A SKETCH OF PHILIP ENGLISH — A MERCHANT IN SALEM FROM ABOUT 1670 TO ABOUT 1733-4.

BY GEORGE F. CHEVER.

(Continued from Page 143.)

The history of a man who for fifty years or more occupied a somewhat prominent position among the ancient *Merchants of Salem, may not, in this connection, be uninteresting or unprofitable. At this distance of time, the materials for it are not as ample as could be desired; yet, by combining the scattered fragments which are found in Felt's Annals, Public Records of Salem, Bentley's History, Upham's Witchcraft, Massachusetts Historical Collections, Histories of Massachusetts, and ancient family papers and traditions, something like a rounded sketch can be made. As a small contribution to the Commercial History of Salem —a work which needs to be written—it may prove not unserviceable.

Philip English was a native of the Isle of Jersey—the descendant of French Huguenots, who sought a refuge in that island. Such at least is the tradition in his family. His true name was not Philip English, but *Philippe L'Anglois*, which, however, suffering "a sea change" by transportation to New England, became Philip English, by which name he is known, and which he himself finally adopted. His baptismal certificate, which has been preserved, reads thus:—

†"*Extrait du Livre des Baptessme de*

*Among the Salem Merchants, who appear to have been prominent when Philip English flourished, judging by papers in the English Family, were Col. Turner, Benj. Marston, James Lindall, Timothy Lindall, Thomas Plaisted, John Higginson, Stephen Sewall, Benj. and Wm. Pickman, Thos. Ellis, John Pickman, Wm. Bowditch, Wm. Pickering, Benjamin, William, John, and Samuel Browne. There also appear a few papers bearing the name of Richard Derby, most probably the grandson of the merchant Roger Derby of 1671.

Among the Salem Merchants from about 1640 to 1670, certainly, Capt. Geo. Corwin (Curwin) stands prominent, and one of his Account Books, kept with great neatness, is still extant, and in the possession of a descendant.

[TRANSLATION]

†"Extract from the Baptismal Register of the Church of Trinity Parish, in the Isle of Jersey."

"Phillipe Son of Jean L'Anglois, was baptized the 30th day of June, in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty One—presented for Holy Baptism by Sir Phillipe De Carteret, Chevalier, Lord of St. Ouan [Ovan] and Madame his wife—given by copy [or duplicate] by me.

J. DOREY, Sec'y."

This Sir Philip Carteret sprang from the Carterets of the Seignory of Carteret in Normandy, who forfeited their estates there in Henry 2d's reign, by adherence to the Crown of England, and were therefore granted lands and offices in the Island of Jersey, and were distinguished for their services by land and sea to the Crown and Country. The Sir Phillipe De Carteret, mentioned above, was grand-

L'Eglisse de la Paroisse De La Trinite En L'isle de Jersey,

"Phillipe fils de Jean L'Anglois, fut Baptize Le 30e Jour de Juin En L'an Mille six Cents Cinquante un—presente au Se Baptessme par Messire Phillipe de Carteret, Cheualier, Seigneur de St Ouan & Madame Sa Femme—donne par Copie par moy.

J. Dorey, Sectr."

There is a tradition in one branch of the family, that he was the only son of a Huguenot Chevalier—that he came to New England [ran away] to seek his fortune, and was disinherited for marrying the lady of his love, the only surviving daughter of William Hollingworth, a merchant of Salem. This rumor may have arisen from the fact, that the Chevalier De Carteret presented him for baptism. There are no family papers that throw any light upon this rumor, which is perhaps only a rumor, and therefore unreliable,

Philip English came to Salem before 1670 in all probability, since he resided in the family of William Hollingworth before marriage, and in 1675 married his daughter. There is a tradition that he landed in Salem, a mere boy, twelve years of age, having run away from Jersey to follow the sea, (his parents being unwilling to permit him to go) without a cent in his pockets, and going by Mistress Hollingworth's house, was welcomed in by that lady, who took compassion on his friendlessness, and gave him a drink of beer in a silver mug. He made Wm. Hollingworth's house his home while in Salem, and in 1675 married his daughter Mary.

The tradition runs, that Wm. Hollingworth, who in 1675 was in Virginia, trading, wrote home to his wife that he had secured a very good husband for his daughter Mary, viz. one of his Virginia friends. To which Mrs. Hollingworth promptly replied, that he need give himself no trouble on that score. since she had already given her daughter to Philip English ! Shortly afterwards Wm. Hollingworth was killed by the Indians there.

Susanna (should be Mary) Hollingworth (according to Dr. Bentley of Salem, in a letter which he wrote to Timothy Alden Jr. who was preparing a sketch of Rev. Joshua Moodey, one of the Portsmouth ministers, and which is found in the Mass. Hist. Coll. of 1809, vol. 10 pages 64-5-6 First series,) was the "only *daughter" "of Mr. Hollingworth, a rich in-

father to the Sir Phillipe De C., who in 1651, was Gov. of Mt. Orgueil Castle in the Isle of Jersey, and then defended it against the Parliamentary forces. His father, Sir George Carteret, who married a daughter of the Sir Philip in the certificate, is often mentioned by Pepys in his Diary, as being a high officer in the Navy Department of England. His son Sir Philip, named above, married the daughter of the Earl of Sandwich, Vice Admiral of England, and both the Earl and his son-in-law were blown up in the Royal James in the great naval engagement off Solebay, May 28, 1672. Some of the Carteret family came to N. England temporarily, after 1700, as would appear by certain letters directed by them to the English and Touzel families, and found among their papers.

The Isle of Jersey (anciently called *Cæserea*) is one of the Channel Islands, belonging to G. Britain, lying thirteen miles off the French Coast, being only 12 miles in length and 3 in width. It is very fertile, and trades freely with the Spanish, and French Coasts, and Holland. It is a peculiar Isle—still retaining some of its ancient Feudal Customs—and though so near the French Coast, has always repelled the French when coming as invaders.

It may not be amiss here to state that not a few of our early Salem families (the men at least) most probably came from the Isle of Jersey. The Valpys, Lefavors, Beadles, Cabots, among others, seem to have come from this beautiful and valiant little Norman isle; and a correspondence was long kept up (in the English and Touzel and most probably other families) with their Jersey relatives. Numbers of old family letters in French are yet extant to prove this, and also letters in English, the latter gradually supplanting the French language in that island.

*Mary Hollingworth was the daughter of Wm. and Elinor Hollingworth. He was a merchant in Salem, trading with Virginia, where a branch of the Hollingworth family, we are told, is still to be found.

habitant of Salem," and "had received a better education than is common even at this day (1809,) as proofs,I hold, sufficiently discover." The tradition in the family is, that she had been the pupil of a Madame Piedmonte, who was a celebrated instructress of that day in Boston. Dr B. further states, and also on the authority of Madam Susanna Harthorne, a great granddaughter (should be granddaughter) of Philip English, that Philip E. "came young to America from the Isle of Jersey, lived in the family of Mr. Hollingworth," and married his daughter as before stated. In the marriage record he (P. E) is styled *merchant*. This is in 1675—when he could not have been more than 24 or 25 years of age, and therefore his business life probably commenced a few years before—say about 1670, or perhaps a year or two later.

Shortly after his marriage he is at the Isle of Jersey (1676) commanding the ketch Speedwell, from Maryland, and agrees to go to the Isle of May to load with salt for New England, and return next year to some port in Biscaye, or Bordeaux, Rochelle or Nantz. The old papers concerning this agreement, being in ancient French chirography, are very hard to decipher. It is very probable that he loaded finally with French merchandize for New England; there being then a comparatively free trade in our Massachusetts colony with all nations. In looking over his old papers, there appear sundry agreements relating to bound servants, which may not be uninteresting. He appears to have taken quite a number of girls from the Isle of Jersey as apprentices in his family, and quite a number of *men* from the same Island to serve "*by sea employ.*" The girls serve as apprentices for *seven* years, but the men (probably *young* men) serve only *four* years. Judging by the old papers, these men were *let* out at sea service, and their wages taken by their master. We have before us the testimony of one *Nicholas Chevallier*, who in 1682-3 was bound to Philip English "*for ye terme of foure years*," and "*to Sea Employ*," When he arrived in New England, he liked land service better, and by the consent of his master, was bound to Mr. Joseph Lee of Manchester. He testifies that Mr. Philip English has treated him well, and he acquits him of the original indenture, &c. Now such servants as these, when in "*Sea Employ*" were

William, himself, was the son of *Richard*, who came to Salem from England in 1635, with his family, and who was a shipbuilder. He was a man of means, and built in 1640, on the Neck, a ship of 300 tons He left two sons,—William, who married Elinor Storey, about 1655, and Richard, who was married to Elizabeth Powell by Gov. Endecott, in 1659. The former was the merchant. The latter obtained a grant from Gen'l Court in 1673-4, of 500 acres of land, but he and a part of his family soon emigrated to Virginia. The name soon afterwards disappears from this State, so far as we can find. Dr. Bentley says that the family was a wealthy one. Some few of their papers yet remain in the English family. Philip English married this Mary, the only daughter, surviving, of the above-named William and Elinor Hollingworth, and the name on that side became extinct with William, (son of William the merchant,) who died unmarried, in 1688. Richard's family migrated, as has been said, to Virginia. The name became extinct in Salem about 1690.

The Hollingworths were from England, and very likely of *Hollingworth*, in the county of Chester, since *Burke*, in his *General Armory*, has the following:

"Hollingworth, Hollinsworth, or Hollingsworth, (Hollingworth, Co. Chester; traceable to the year 1022 From this ancient house descends the present Robert Hollingworth, of Hollingworth Hall, Esq., Magistrate for the Counties of Chester and Lancaster.) Az. on a bend, ar. three holly leaves vert. The family name was formerly spelt Hollynworthe, and is evidently derived from the Holly Tree, called in Cheshire, "Hollyn Tree," with which the estate abounded. *Crest.* A stag ppr. Motto—*Disce Ferenda Pati.*"

It is almost a trite assertion now, but may bear repeating, that the early settlers of New England were oftentimes the representatives of that liberty-loving, staunch, and substantial commonalty of old England, which, however loyal it might be, could not stoop to tyranny or flattery; but with a self-respect based upon its own merits, avoided its native land, and sadly, rather than seek to overthrow the monarchy by violence. Many of this stamp came to Salem, which was indeed considered, and for a while, as the refuge for such.

hired out or let out as sailors! We have the *order of *Thomas Ellis*, an old Salem merchant, on *Col. Samuell Browne* another old Salem merchant, requesting him to pay Philip English the wages ("*sarvice*") of one Wm. Mackelroy, "*his man*" on "*a voige*" in 1716-17 to Barbadoes and Saltitudos in "*the ship Hopewell*" This hiring out "*to sarvice*" was not much better than the slavery apprentice system. It was the way probably in which these bounden servants by "*sea employ*" paid their masters for their transportation to this country from Jersey, France or England—a system long since exploded. It is a tradition in the family that Philip E. had no less than *fifteen* bounden servants (male and female) in his own family: and considering the extent of his business, and the *profit* of such service, it is by no means unlikely. There are quite a number of such indentures still to be found among his papers.

In 1683 Philip E. had so flourished in business, that he put up a stylish mansion in Salem—the frame of which is reported to have been brought from England. It was one of those ancient Mansion Houses for which Salem was once noted—a venerable, many gabled, solid structure, with projecting stories and porches, if we remember aright. Down to 1753 it was known as "*English's great house.*" It stood until 1833, when, long since tenantless and deserted, it had become dangerous to the very tread of man or boy, who had the curiosity to explore it. It had been built on the lot which belonged to a Captain Robert Starr, (who married one of old Richard Hollingworth's daughters) and on the eastern corner of Essex street and English Lane, now English street. When torn down, there was found a secret room in the garret, supposed to have been built *after* the Witchcraft furor, as a place of temporary concealment in case of a second "*outcry.*" In 1692 this house, as well as his store house, was thoroughly *sacked by the mob, when Mr. and Mrs. English were arrested for witchcraft, and various old family portraits, as well as the furniture, destroyed or carried away — When Mrs. English returned from New York,

*The following copy of a similar "order" may not be out of place here:

"Capt. Jno. Browne.

Sr.—Pleas to pay Mr. Philip English the Sum of thirty three pounds Eighteen shillings, Being Due to him for his seru'ts [servants] wages in ye Ship frindship. [Friendship] und'r [under] ye Comand of Capt. Eleaz'r Lyndsey & Sam'l Crow, in her Last voyage ffor [for] Bilboa, ye Isle of May, Barbados, & home, & charge ye same to sd [said] ship's acco'tt. Yr Humble Seru'nt,

£33 18s WM. BOWDITCH."

Salem, Jan'y 1, 1717-8.

*According to the petition of Philip English to the Committee of the Gen'l Court, (Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, No. 2, page 57,) he lost "a considerable quantity of household goods and other things," while flying from persecution. This corroborates the tradition in the family. Dr. Bentley (Hist. of Salem) says,—"As soon as Mr. English was apprehended, his house was opened, and everything moveable became free plunder to the multitude." The Family Tradition says that his store houses were robbed to the amount of £1500. Philip English puts the loss by seizure at his Wharf House, at Point of Rocks, £1183-2s. For the loss of his estate, the only satisfaction he ever got, was from the Administrator of George Curwin, Sheriff, to the amount of £60. In his petition, Philip English charges that the Sheriff and his under officers took away the chief of this amount £1183-2s though he (P. E.) had given a £4000 bond with surety at Boston.

Philip English was bitterly incensed against Curwin, who however was only an instrument in this affair, but obtained no adequate compensation for his losses. "The [General] Court (says Dr. Bentley,) made some allowance to Mr. English, but he refused it, as not being in a just degree adequate to his losses from his houses, stores, and other buildings. After his death, his heirs accepted £200, which they obtained through the family of Sewall." The Sewalls had been intimately connected with the English family in commercial matters, and a few papers yet remain to attest it.

Philip English appears to have owned a wharf and ware house at the Point of Rocks, and his wife owned in her own right a wharf and ware-house just to the eastward of the bottom of English Lane (now street,) an inheritance from her mother, Elinor Hollingsworth.

whither she had fled to save her life, she found only a servant's bed in her house out of all the furniture which it once contained.

From the years 1676 to 1692 Philip English appears to have traded to Bilboa, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's, Jersey, Isle of May, as well as several French ports. That trade was very probably based on catching fish on the banks —the coast of Nova Scotia—in the bays of Newfoundland, and very likely in our own immediate *bays also, and sending them to Spain, Europe and Barbadoes, and thence taking salt, dry goods, or West India produce back to New England. There appear to have been two classes of vessels then employed in our commerce—the regular fishing craft—and the foreign traders—both being about the same size. Though the foreign traders seem sometimes to have gone up to †Newfoundland after their fish cargo—there being probably depots there of prepared fish, yet Winter Island, (Salem) was a large depot for cured fish, and almost, if not quite, monopolized that business in Salem. Vessels appeared to get their cargoes of fish mainly from there.

We find quite a number of old commercial papers referring to Mr. English's business from 1676 to about 1682 say, but only one or two from that date to 1692. The former are mostly in the French language—very difficult to decipher—as being in the ancient French writing—but proving that his earliest commerce was largely to France, Spain and adjacent countries. It is very likely that when his house and store were sacked in 1692, many papers at and just prior to 1692 were scattered or destroyed. Two papers remain of the date of 1687 and 8, which show him to have been trading to St, Christopher's (W. I.) in connection with Daniel King and Hilliard Williams, sending thither the ketch *Repair*,—King being then a resident merchant at St. C., and signing the accounts. Sugar, rum and molasses constitute the return cargo. No papers referring to the outward cargo remain. It is certain that his voyages from 1675-6 to 1692 were in the main profitable, since at the latter period, he was wealthy, and had probably quit going to sea himself some few years before 1692.

In 1692, Philip English was at the height of his prosperity. He owned fourteen buildings in town—twenty-one sail of vessels, besides a wharf and ware house on the Point of Rocks (Neck). His wife, before the witchcraft "*outcry*." had been considered *aristocratic*, so says Dr. Bentley ; and Philip English himself, though wealthy, had held no office in town, and had besides been engaged in some unsuccessful suits with the town in regard to lands which he claimed of it. These things may have contributed to render *him* unpopular also. At all events both he and his wife were "cried out" against for witchcraft, and according to Dr. Bentley (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 10 first series pp. 34-5) he was the only person in Salem Village "distinguished for property and known in the commercial world" who was so accused. Whether in the hour of their prosperity, pride got the better of wisdom in

* Fish were very plentiful on our own coasts and in our own bays in the early days of Massachusetts —and the early fishermen availed themselves of the fact. Among other fish, cod and mackerel seem to have been very plentiful near home. Both these fish were largely exported. It is most probable that our Salem fishermen made good use of the "design' of catching mackerel by nets—which was first discovered by some few fishermen of Hull,—(and as being successful on light as well as dark nights)—a few years before 1671, and which being freely communicated to the Plymouth colonists became very profitable to that colony. Our own people were not likely to be far behind their neighbors in availing themselves of the "design," and sharing the profits —See Mass, Hist. Coll. Vol 6—1st Series—pp 127 — 8—Prince and Bosworth's Petition.

†It is most probable that there were large Deposits of Fish at the English Settlement or Settlements in Newfoundland at that time. The English fishing fleet at N. F. was a large one, and their fish were probably cured on the coasts. That was the early fashion at least. As early as 1615 the English had 175 vessels fishing at New Foundland, and the French, Spanish, and Portuguese had altogether 300 more.

the counsels of the English family, we know not; but whatever may have been the sins of Philip or his wife, there can be but little doubt that ignorant malice and mischief formed one ingredient in the persecution, as Dr. B. says some prejudices were at the bottom of the matter. Philip E. (so runs the tradition in the family,) had moreover made himself also obnoxious by asserting in public and fearlessly, that the charter of the Colony had been violated, and in various ways, by the Colonial government—that there was no religious toleration to be had under it as construed by the authorities. He was himself an Episcopalian, and desired toleration for that creed, and felt that he could not obtain it. He adhered to his religious creed with great pertinacity, and even as late as 1725, was imprisoned in our Salem jail (according to Felt) for refusing to pay church taxes to the East Parish Congregational Church—though he was then in his 75th year, and though for more than 50 years he had been a well-known merchant in Salem. It was not until 1732 that the law was passed releasing Episcopalians from paying taxes for the support of Congregational churches. The Quakers, even, were released from similar burdens in 1728, *four* years before! This seems to indicate that the Colonial authorities were more indulgent to the latter than the former.

Now as the religious history of Massachusetts is *the* history of the State, certainly down to 1692, and even later—as is proved by such and similar laws,—we can readily see that Episcopalians were practically a proscribed sect. Thrust out from civil government, in the Colony, in 1631, by the law of freemanship, they were not practically restored to their rights, even after the royal restoration. The religious sentiments, hopes, faiths and fears of the Colonists were against them. To tolerate them was to tolerate the tyranny of that church which had driven the Puritans and Pilgrims over the sea, and was only waiting and biding its time for spiritual dominion again over them. It was most probably no recommendation to Philip English, in the days of 1692, that he was an adherent to the church of England; and it may be that this fact cost him influence, power and respect in the community during his long business life. Salem, to be sure, was at first considered, and for a while, as the shelter of the *moderate* Episcopalians, but congregationalism soon triumphed, and did not relax its rule until 1732. In 1734 St. Peter's Church began to rise as a monument of a hard-won toleration. Before that, some Episcopal missionary, like *Pigot*, might collect (perhaps privately) the adherents of the Episcopal Church here together for worship, and baptize their children according to its rites and forms, but Episcopacy was an outlaw and an alien in the sight of our New England Congregationalism.

Philip English must, we think, have shared to a greater or lesser extent the odium attaching to the English Church; and his bold advocacy for its toleration could only have recoiled upon himself in the day of trouble and calamity. The causes of the witchcraft persecutions of 1692 were various and multiform. The principal cause was doubtless a belief in the guilt of the accused, as a general rule, but there is too much reason to fear that the morbid condition and anger of the public mind at that day, resulting from a peculiarly distressing combination of civil evils in the Colony, were also eager and prepared to seek victims for their own unjust sufferings, and that there were also working with them for mischief the elements of personal prejudice, perhaps personal malice and uncharitableness.—That storm had been long brewing, and contained as many ingredients as the cauldron of the Macbeth witches,—all terrible, and all deadly. It is hard to tell which was the more fatal ingredient,—though if any was, it was the bigotry, that, clothed in the name of Religion, was burning with every unholy fire—an awful fanaticism, under the guise and with the seeming inspiration of a true enthusiasm.

That storm burst mainly on the humbler ones of the community, many of whom, however, proved that they were really the lofty

ones of the earth in heroic courage, in true virtue, in a rare enduring and meek patience, and Christian submission to an unjust and peculiarly ignominious doom. It is impossible to read the letter, as an instance, which Mary Easty, of Topsfield, wrote after condemnation to the Judges of the Court in Salem, (see Upham's Witchcraft) without seeing and feeling that some who perished in that terrible persecution were really the salt of the earth, and met their fate with a Christian meekness so touching that it will bring tears into the eyes of the readers through all the generations. Mary English herself, though she escaped a public execution by flight to New York, was really a martyr to this persecution, for she died, says Dr. Bentley, (in the before quoted article of his,) "in consequence of the ungenerous treatment she received," and the tradition in the family is, that owing to her exposure in our Salem jail, in which she was confined, (Dr. Bentley says six weeks,) she contracted a consumption, lingering, however, until 1694. She lived to see the witchcraft madness pass away, and to die of its effects, freely forgiving, however, those who had injured her.

On the 21st April, 1692, and "from some prejudices," says Dr. B., Mrs. English "was accused of witchcraft,* examined, and committed to prison in Salem. Her firmness is memorable. Six weeks she was confined; but being visited by a fond husband, her husband was also accused and confined in the same prison. By the intercession of friends, and by a plea that the prison was crowded, they were removed to Arnold's jail in Boston till the time of trial." Dr. Bentley says, in his History of Salem, that the officer who arrested Mrs. English, came in the evening and read his warrant in her bed chamber, whither he had been admitted by the servants, but she refused to rise. Guards were placed around the house, and in the morning she attended the devotions of her family, kissed her children with great composure, proposed her plan for their education, took leave of them, and then told the officer "she was ready to die." So says Dr. B. She was evidently so persuaded from the first that accusation of witchcraft was equivalent to condemnation, that she only expected death, and prepared herself for it.

Mrs. English was (according to Dr. Bentley) examined and committed by indulgence to custody in a public house, at which her husband visited her. There is a tradition in the family, that, before her own examination, she was placed in a room directly over the examining Judges, and heard through the thin partition the examinations of some of the accused—and that she took some notes of these examinations—particularly of the questions asked by the magistrates, and when her own turn came, she asked them if such things were right and lawful, and told them she would know of the higher Courts whether such things were law and justice, and that their decisions should be reviewed by the Superior Judges. Her husband, according to tradition, was absent from Salem when she was examined, but soon returned. The family tradition is, that she was confined in the second story of a tavern, which stood just above Market Square, on the northern side of Essex St., and which Felt, in his Annals of Salem, calls the "*Cat and Wheel.*" Here her husband frequently visited her, which soon brought him into trouble, as on the 30th April, (according to Felt) a warrant was issued for the arrest of Philip English for witchcraft, but he avoided being taken. Two warrants seem to have been issued against him. The tradition in the family is, that he kept himself out of the way for a while, being in Boston, en-

*Any one desirous of reading a vivid life-like description of an examination of one accused of witchcraft, will find it in Jonathan Cary's letter, page 71 of Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft. The parties there were of Charlestown, and the examination appears to have taken place in the First Church in Salem. The *philosophy* of witchcraft is well exposed in this graphic and touching letter, as well as the inhumanity resulting from the *judicial* prejudice against it.

deavoring to obtain the removal of his wife thither, and to obtain the interest of the authorities in her behalf, and that then he voluntarily surrendered himself, more particularly as he found his own absence was being used to the prejudice of his wife. He appears to have been examined in Salem, and was then committed to prison, and with his wife.

Dr. Bentley gives as one of the causes of the accusation against Mrs. English, that she had been considered aristocratic and haughty in her bearing towards the poor—that "some prejudices" were at the bottom of it. The family tradition says nothing as to the causes of her arrest, but that her servants were overwhelmed with grief when she was arrested, and wished to resist the officers, which she would not permit.

She seems to have been a woman of religious sensibilities, for as early as 1681 she was admitted a Congregational church member, and has left behind her the following religious Acrostic, which was put into our hands by a lady of Boston, one of her descendants:—

"M ay I with mary chues ye bettar part
A nd serue ye lord with all my heart
R eseue his word most Joyfully
Y liue to him eternily.

E uerliuing god I pray
N euer leue me for to stray
G iue me grace the to obay
L ord grant that I may hapy be
I n Jesus Christ eternille
S aue me deer lord by thy rich grace
H eaven then shall be my dweling plase."

This acrostic certainly breathes a very different spirit from that which she is charged with possessing in 1692. The acrostic is not dated, but was evidently written after marriage, and perhaps after she had been admitted to the church in 1681. At that time, certainly, she seems to have been humble in mind and heart.

Mr. and Mrs. English were finally removed from our Salem jail to Boston, (the stone jail there,) together and on the same day with Giles Cory, Geo. Jacobs, senior, Allice Parker, Ann Pudeater and Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. Of these, all perished except themselves. Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, was the *first* victim to the witchcraft madness of 1692. Giles Cory was pressed to death for refusing to plead to his indictment, and Alice Parker and Geo. Jacobs, senior, were hung. It is *his* trial, as painted by some American artist, and presented by the Messrs. Ropes, which decorates the entry of Plummer Hall. Philip English and wife only escaped death by flight from jail to New York.

It is a tradition in the family that several of the Boston clergy espoused the cause of Mr. and Mrs. English when confined in jail there; that Cotton Mather, who was a great friend of Mrs. E., said, that though she was accused, "he did not believe her to be guilty; that her accusers evidently believed her to be so, but that Satan was most probably deceiving them into that belief"—a very ingenious defence in fact against all accusations of the kind. The tradition further runs, that their friends repeatedly urged Mr. and Mrs. E. to flee to New York, and that some New York merchants, who knew Mr. English, sent on a carriage for himself and wife to escape in. This Mr. English was unwilling at first to do, saying "that he did not believe they (the courts) would shed innocent blood." He, however, had soon reason to believe the opposite, and fled. The tradition in the family is, that the State authorities were cognizant of the plot for the escape and aided in it.

Dr. Bentley in his letter to Alden (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 10 First series pp 65-6) thus details the circumstances in regard to the escape of Mr. and Mrs. English from Boston.—Before referring to it, we will state that the Rev. Joshua Moodey (mentioned as being concerned therein) was indeed a rare man for that age. About the year 1658 he began to preach in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. "His independent and faithful manner of preaching, and the strictness of his church discipline" brought down on his head in 1684 the wrath of Lieut. Gov. Cranfield of that Province, who indicted and imprisoned him under the Uniformity act, and dismissed him after thirteen weeks impris-

onment with a charge to preach no more on penalty of further imprisonment. This drove him to Boston, where he preached until 1692. At that time he boldly espoused the cause of Mr and Mrs. English—openly justified Mr. E, and in defiance of the popular prejudices denounced the prevailing Witchcraft persecution. This brought down upon him the wrath of not a few influential persons in his own society, and he was obliged to leave Boston in consequence. He was gladly welcomed back to Portsmouth, and by a parish by whom he was greatly beloved, and thence remained with them. In 1684 he was offered the Presidency of Harvard College, which he modestly declined. Dunton, who was in Boston in 1686, speaks of Mr. Moodey as assistant to Mr. Allen, and "well known by his practical writings." Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon and called him "*that man of God!*"—It is evident that he was a bold, fearless, able man, seeing clearly through the delusions of his age; while his treatment of his personal enemies proves him to have been as magnanimous and noble, as he was brave and able.—Mr. Alden in his Account of the Religious Societies in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 10 First series pp. 37 to 72) does justice to Mr. Moodey, and Dr. Bentley adds further proof, in the account he gives of Mr. Moodey's services to Mr. English, as obtained from a grand-daughter of Mr. E., and which we now quote in connection with the escape.

Says Dr. Bentley, writing to Mr. Alden, and concerning Mr. Moodey, "In Boston, upon giving bail, they (Mr. and Mrs. English) had the liberty of the town, only lodging in prison. Upon their arrival Messrs. Willard and Moodey visited them and discovered every disposition to console them in their distress. On the day before they were to return to Salem for trial, Mr. Moodey waited upon them in the prison, and invited them to the publick worship. On the occasion he chose for the text, IF THEY PERSECUTE YOU IN ONE CITY, FLEE TO ANOTHER. In the discourse, with a manly freedom, he justified every attempt to escape from the forms of justice, when justice was violated in them. After service Mr. Moodey visited the prisoners in the gaol, and asked Mr. English whether he took notice of his discourse? Mr. English said he did not know whether he had applied it as he ought, and wished some conversation on the subject. Mr. Moodey then frankly told him that his life was in danger, and he ought by all means to provide for an escape. Many, said he, have suffered. Mr. English then replied, God will not suffer them to hurt me. Upon this reply Mrs. English said to her husband, do you not think that they, who have suffered already, are innocent? He said yes. Why, then, may not we suffer also? Take Mr. Moodey's advice. Mr. Moodey then told Mr. English that if he would not carry his wife away, he would. He then informed him that he had persuaded several worthy persons in Boston to make provision for their conveyance out of the colony, and that a conveyance had been obtained, encouraged by the Govenour, gaoler, &c., which would come at midnight, and that proper recommendations had been obtained to Gov. Fletcher of New York, so that he might give himself no concern about any one circumstance of the journey; that all things were amply provided. The Governour also gave letters to Gov. Fletcher, and at the time appointed, Mr. English, his wife, and daughter were taken and conveyed to New York. He found before his arrival that Mr. Moodey had despatched letters, and the Governour, with many private gentlemen, came out to meet him; and the Governour entertained him at his own house, and paid him every attention while he remained in the city. On the next year he returned" (to Salem).

"In all this business Mr. Moodey openly justified Mr. English, and, in defiance of all the prejudices which prevailed, expressed his abhorrence of the measures, which had obliged a useful citizen to flee from the executioners.—Mr. Moodey was commended by all discerning men, but he felt the angry resentment of the

deluded multitude of his own times, among whom some of high rank were included. He soon after left Boston, and returned to Portsmouth."

"Mrs. English died in 1694, at 42 years of age, in consequence of the ungenerous treatment she had received. Her husband died at 84 [86] years of age, in 1734 [1736]."

"This is the substance of the communication made to me at different times from Madam Susanna Harthorne, his great-granddaughter [granddaughter] who died in Salem 28 August, 1802, at the age of 80 years, who received the account from the descendants of Mr. English, who dwelt upon his obligations to Mr. Moodey with great pleasure."

Such is the version which Dr. Bentley gives of this affair, told by a granddaughter of Mr. E., and which we doubt not is a correct one—though the tradition in another branch of the family varies from this in stating that Philip E. and his wife escaped from the Church in a *coach after service, some of his friends aiding, and assisting him by crowding back the officers as if accidentally, and locking them in the church, until the fugitives were well out of reach. Both Dr. B.'s version and the tradition agree that the Governor and high State officers were privy to, and encouraged the escape, and Thos. Brattle in his letter of Oct. 8, 1692 (Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 5 & 6th, First series) indirectly confirms the truth of this, when he wonders why no requisition had ever been made for Mr. and Mrs. E., at the hands of the New York authorities, though it was well known that the fugitives had gone thither.—Brattle uses this strange neglect as a proof that the authorities in Massachusetts could not believe witchcraft to be a crime equal to that of murder (then the general belief) or Mr. and Mrs. E., would have been demanded of Gov. Fletcher. Brattle ably opposed witchcraft, but did not then of course see that the escape of these parties was a premeditated thing on the part of the authorities—who for once were certainly inconsistent as to law—but then consistent—thoroughly so with justice and mercy—the true consistency.

Mr. Moodey had to leave Boston in consequence of his share in this transaction—but only to return to the arms of a congregation who had never willingly given him up. He died universally lamented, and with a rare modesty appears not to have left a line among his papers which refers in any way to his connection in this matter. It is thus by the traditions of the English family, as preserved by Dr. Bentley, that we get an insight into the manliness and worth of this man, who equally dared to face the wrath of the New Hampshire Government or Massachusetts people in the cause of right and justice, and who, standing far above his age, saw from the mountain top the clear sun-light of truth, when all was mist and darkness in the valley below.

The winter of 1692-3 and the succeeding spring, were days of terrible suffering for Salem, particularly that winter. Mr. English, anticipating somewhat of this misery, sent on from New York during the winter one hundred barrels of flour for the poor, who, he was afraid, "would suffer in his absence." The town was then indeed in a terrible state. The witchcraft madness and terror—the executions—the numerous arrests—the accusations on all sides—the flight of the inhabitants, over a quarter part of whom fled—the general gloom, and the utter prostration of business, had all depressed Salem beyond imagination. In 1693 the storm was over, and people were themselves

*Dr. Benjamin F. Browne, of Salem—who is well versed in our local traditions and antiquities—informs us that the tradition in his younger days was, that Philip E. escaped from Boston on horseback, having first reversed the shoes on his horse's feet, so as to appear to be entering, instead of departing from the city. Dr. Bentley does not give the particulars of his escape—the means employed—and the two traditions have seeming discrepancies, which, however, could be reconciled, were it worth the time to attempt it. The escape from *prison* was easy indeed. The only danger lay in arrest by *ignorant* officers, or an excited people.

again. Mr. E. then returned to Salem, and was welcomed back by Rev. Mr. Noyes, who was very attentive to him ever after. The Town expressed its joy at his return by bon-fires and a general rejoicing. Mrs. E., however, returned home an invalid, only to die. Mr. E. found moreover, that his house had been sacked by the multitude, and goods attached and taken from his stores by Sheriff Curwen to the amount of £1.183. He sued Curwen, laying his damages at £1,500, but never recovered.—It is very probable that Curwen sheltered himself under the law of confiscation against those escaping from prison when accused of capital crimes. Philip English thought his case a hard one, for he had given £4000 bail in Boston for his appearance, and was, perhaps, then legally liable for that amount, in addition to the sum Curwen attached. His wife's health was ruined—his goods gone—his business for the time broken up, and he after all an innocent man! The only pecuniary satisfaction he ever got was £60 paid him by the administrator of the estate of George Curwen, the late Sheriff. This whole affair was a terrible trial to Mr. E., and perhaps was one cause of the disease, (clouding of the mind) under which he labored the last two years of his life. The loss of his wife, and under the circumstances, was a severe blow—a wife, too, whom he tenderly loved—and in addition to this came the loss of property to no small amount, and most unjustly. He petitioned the General Court with others for pecuniary satisfaction in this matter, but refused the amount tendered him, being entirely inadequate.

Mr. English set about repairing his fortunes, having children to bring forward, and seems to have entered into business again with fresh spirit and energy, though not with the good fortune, perhaps, he had met with prior to 1692. From 1689 to 1711 Salem merchants suffered severely at the northward, from the *French and Indians. In 1697 Salem had lost some 54 out of its 60 fishing ketches, and as the fishing business was the *staple* interest, the town became so poor, with continued losses up to 1711, that it could not repair its fortifications as ordered by the Governor that year.—Its fishing ketches were captured by French fleets in the Bays of Newfoundland, off the coast of "Acadie," and near Cape Sable. The Indians, instigated probably by the French, shot down the crews from ambush, when ashore, and French privateers, and even *pirates* preyed on these ketches. In 1689 Government had to send a vessel of war to scour our bay and coast for pirates, and in 1704 Major Sewall of Salem, captures some of these outlaws who have been taking fishing shallops at the Isle of Shoals. Our Salem fishermen persevered as well as they could. In 1699 they sent out a fleet of fourteen vessels, but were almost discouraged in 1711 by their repeated losses.—Philip English was engaged in this business, and sent out his ketches, and suffered, doubtless, in common with his neighbors. He, however, was engaged in other trades—sent his ketches, sloops, brigantines to ‡Barbadoes and other British West Indias—†Surinam in Dutch

*Salem fitted out privateers in this old French war, which did some damage to the enemy, and never seems to have refused her quota of men and means either by land or sea, in any of the wars of the Colony. (See Felt's Annals *passim.*) As one proof of this, we find that in March, 1674, Edward Rawson, our colonial Secretary, informs the Governor and Council of Connecticut that the Ketch Swallow of Salem, 60 tons, 12 guns, and 60 men, Capt. Richard Sprague, and the Ketch Salisbury, of nearly the same tonnage, 8 guns and 40 men, Capt. Sam'l Mosely, were ready to sail, and cruise up and down the Sound "on the service of the Colonies." Felt mentions this of Salem, the "service" being perhaps to watch the Dutch—then dreaded.

The Privateer history of Salem dates perhaps from this old French war, and as a precedent was not forgotten, it is likely, in the days of the Revolution, a century later.

†The following letters of instruction of Philip English to two of his captains—one his son, William English, the other, John Touzell, a son-in law—may be of some interest, both as connected with this mer

Guiana—Maryland—Virginia—Rhode Island—chant, and as illustrating the commercial history of the times.

SALEM IN NEW ENGLAND, ye 9th day of June, 1712.

Wm. English.—You being master of the Slope [sloop] Mary, & hauing Laden yo'r vessell, you are to attend ye Laws and Customes of this place Relating to Clearing of said vessell and Goods, you are to take ye first opportunity of wind and weather, and sett saile, Directing yo'r Course for Seyrinam, [Surinam, Dutch Guiana,] where you are now bound, and when it shall please god to bring you safe there, you are to attend ye Laws and Customes of that place in Respect to Entring yo'r vessell and goods, and then you are to deliver yo'r goods according to bills of lading, and receiue yo'r freight (money) and what goods you haue of ours consigned to your selfe, you are to make sale of for Malasses so to Lode your vessel home here for New England, and it in case our Effects, both of goods and freight, doth not produce a full loading for said vessell, Then take what fraight you can for Salem or Boston, and if you have more of our Effects as aforesaid then will Lade your vessell with Mallasses, we leaue it wth you to Lay out in such things as you shall think most Benefitiall for ye owner of sd vessell, and for to Loade in ye same for ye owner's profitt. Be sure make no debts, and so, haueing Loaden yo'r vessell in Seyrinam, and done yo'r Consearnes, you are to cleare yo'r vessell and goods so that no Damage may accrue to your owners and Imploy'rs. So haueing no more at present, but wishing you a good and prosperous voyage, and a safe returne to Salem in New England, Again We Rest yo'r Loueing Owners,

PHILIP ENGLISH.

SECOND LETTER.

SALEM, May ye 2d, 1722.

Mr. John Touzel.—S'r, you being appointed master of my sloop Sarah, now Riding in ye Harbour of Salem, and Ready to saile, my Order is to you that you take ye first opportunity of wind and weather to saile and make ye Best of yr way for Barbadoes or Leew'd Island, and there Enter and Clear yr vessel and Deliver yr Cargo According to Orders and Bill of Lading, and make Saile of my twelve Hogsh'd of fish to my Best advantage, and make Returne in yr vessel or any other for Salem, In such Goods as you shall see best, and if you see Cause to take a fraight to any part or hire her, I leiue it with your Best Conduct, Managem't or care, for my best advantage. So please God to give you a prosperous voyage, I Remain yr Friend and Owner,

PHILIP ENGLISH.

Endorsed "My sailing orders to Barbadoes."

In connection with the Barbadoes trade, it may not be out of place here to append the following letter from Samuel Sewall, which, with other evidence in our possession, proves that in our early Commerce, some of our Salem or Massachusetts men went to the British West Indies and acted as commission merchants there. Barbadoes seems to have been one of the principal markets so sought. At a later day the same practice obtained in the East Indies, when our Salem commerce was diverted thither. This Samuel Sewall charges in his subsequent account, commissions 5 per cent., storage and portage 2½—the current rates probably of that day.

*New Hampshire — *Connecticut—Ireland—

LETTER.

To Mr. Wm. English, merchant in Salem, New England.

BARBADOES, Feb'y 4, 1712.

Mr. William English. Sir.—These wait on you by Matthew Estis via Saltertuda [sometimes spelt Saltitudos,] with enclosed account Sales for yo'r Eight hhds fish which came to a miserable markett, Tho I think I sold to ye heighth of ye markett. Im heartily sorry I can give you no better Incouragem't. I shall observe yo'r orders in ye returns, and make all reasonable dispatch—pleas to acquaint yo'r father I have rec'd his Thousand of staves per Woodbridge, but have not yet sold them, they are very low, and sold at 50s pr M. I cannot Inlarge, but am

Sr yo'r ready and Obe't Ser't,

SAM'L SEWALL.

Saltertuda or Saltitudos we have discovered to be only a corruption of Salt Tortuga, an island near the Spanish Main.

*According to the 2d Book (B.) of the old Colonial Custom House in Salem, which book is now in the possssion of Benj. Browne Esq., who inherited it from his ancestor Gerrish, the Collector, Philip English was trading in 1695 to New Hampshire, in 1696 to Virginia, in 1698 to Medara [Madeira] and Barbadoes. According to the same vol., Surinam, Virginia and Barbadoes were favorite places of trade for various Salem merchants, from 1700 to 1715 say, or later. The first vol. of these Custom House Records (A.) is unfortunately lost.

By New Hampshire, as mentioned in this old Colonial Custom House Book, Portsmouth, N. H., is perhaps intended, for P. was largely visited by vessels. In 1681 (according to *Cooper*—Naval Hist. U. S.) no less than 47 vessels entered that port.

Philip E. also traded to Rhode Island and Connecticut, certainly after 1700, as is evident from his son William's letters and accounts. According to *Trumbull*, Connecticut maintained a very humble marine of her own even as late as 1713. In 1680 she had 24 vessels, with a total of 1050 tons, trading between that Colony and Boston, New Foundland, the West Indies &c., and in 1713, 2 Brigs, 20 Sloops, and a number of smaller craft, No. of seamen 120! Mass. had then some 20,000 tons of shipping, and some 3000 seamen. Newport, in Rhode Island, was

Isle of Jersey—England, and perhaps Holland. It is most probable that P. E. was engaged in trade with some of these places prior to 1692; but many of his earlier commercial papers were most probably scattered, if not destroyed, when his house and warehouse were sacked that year. A few papers are found of commercial interest, running from 1694 to 1720. From these and various commercial items we find in other quarters, the subsequent remarks are based.

When P. E. began business in Salem, say in 1670* or thereabouts, the town was already recovering probably from the "*smite on all employments*," that *Hull* mentions in 1665. In 1664, Josselyn said there were some rich merchants in Salem. It is not be wondered at that our old town should have flourished.—Admirably situated for the fishing trade, and the foreign trade then connected with it, and the shipping needed for *both* trades—enjoying a comparative free trade with the world, unhampered by the Plantation Act, without even a Custom House Office established by Parliament, Salem might have been the envy of some of the British seaports which had at home to conform to rules, from which Salem, in common with our Massachusetts sea ports, escaped. Having enjoyed so much commercial liberty under both Charles the First, and Cromwell, particularly the latter, and feeling a growing consciousness of strength, both through that long liberty and its attendant success, Salem, in 1670, occupied a high position in commerce. She was also one of the principal ports in the Colony for shipbuilding. From 1670 to '76 Salem seems to have flourished greatly. After that the havoc made by the French and Indians among her fishing fleet forced her to retrograde for a while. Between these years we find *Wayborne*, *Randolph*, and the *London merchants*, all endeavoring to restrict our trade, (in common with that of the Colony) stating that our [Massachusetts] commerce is irregular, that we do not conform to the acts of trade, that we do not make England the magazine* of trade, but go and come and buy and sell where, and as, and when we please. This proves our commercial freedom. The light burdens, moreover, laid on commerce by the Colony were not seriously felt, if we except, perhaps, the duty on grain. Even *De Ruyter*, in 1665, spared us, though he "*did great spoil*" in Newfoundland, and again in 1667 the Dutch, though ravaging the coast of Virginia, and capturing some of our

then, doubtless, the great Southern New England Port, as in 1737 she owned 100 sail of different sizes. So says *Cooper*.

In the 1st vol. Booke of Recordes for masters, page 85, Aug. 23, 1710, Phillip English and Eleazer Lyndsey, of Salem, let their Brigantine Neptune to Leonard Abbott, of Kingstowne, Jamaica, (but then resident in Salem,) for a voyage to Jamaica, and thence (transporting Abbott also) to Bay of Campeache (Campeachy) to load with logwood for Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the owners to have as freight every twelve tons out of twenty shipped—the balance for Abbott. It appears from a subsequent protest, that the vessel did not sail at the time appointed, but may have afterwards.

* The population of Salem from 1670 to 1740 may be set down as varying from say 1500 in 1670 to 4500 or 5000 in 1740. This period embraces the whole business period of the life of Philip English, as well as various other Salem merchants of that day.

* We have in our possession one of the Plantation certificates, dated 1730, and in furtherance of the design to make England the magazine of colonial produce. By this, security is given to the chief officers of the customs in London, that if the *Endeavor*, a ship or vessel built in New England, of sixty tons burthen, and belonging to Salem, shall load any sugar, tobacco, cotton wooll, indigo, ginger, fustick, or other dying wood; as also rice, melasses, tar, pitch, turpentine, hemp, masts, yards, bowsprits, copper ore, beaver skins, or other furs of the growth, production or manufacture of any British plantations in America, Asia, or Africa, the same commodities shall be by the said ship or vessel brought to some port of Great Britain, and be unloaden and put on shore, the danger of the seas only excepted. Such arbitrary attempts to turn the natural current of trade, and aggrandize the mother country at the expense of the Colonies, proved to be one of the most serious causes of the *Revolution* in later years.

vessels and men, yet spared us a visit in New England. In 1673 piracy is said to be prevalent, but Salem is not recorded as a direct sufferer. In 1676 all duties on exports, except 6d. on horses, are taken off, and not until the indefatigable mischievous *Randolph* returns from England as Inspector of Customs, does there seem to be serious trouble in prospect. The intervening years up to *1692 were, however, gloomy ones. The loss of the charter*—the dreaded loss by the Puritans of their Protestant privileges—of even the titles to their very lands and houses as a consequent on the loss of the charter—the wars and rumors of wars which had gathered or were fast gathering—the public dread of James, as the secret ally of France and the Indians as against the Colonies—the public and private calamities, which were numerous—the belief in witchcraft, and the growing belief throughout New England that Satan was let loose to do his will, especially in these colonies—these, all these causes contributed to render the public nerves morbid—the evil imaginations of men acute—until as they drank off the successive draughts of these evils, temporal and spiritual, they themselves went finally mad in all the intoxication of calamity. Thus came upon the Colony the madness of 1692.

During these times Philip English flourished or suffered with his compeers. In 1694 he is shipping on the ketch "*Prosperous*" "*Benj. Stone, Master,*" bound to Barbados, certain goods consigned to Major John Pil-

* The staple commodities of Massachusetts, about 1680, were fish, mackerel, peltry, horses, provisions, cider, boards, timber and pipe staves. These our traders sent to the West Indies and the Colonial possessions, and obtained sugar, rum, indigo, cotton wool, tobacco, which were transmitted usually in their own vessels to England. Some of their pipe staves, fish, mackerel, &c., were sent to Madeira, and western islands, and wines taken thence to New England. No great quantity of tar and pitch was then made here. Some £40,000 or £50,000 of English goods of all sorts were imported yearly. Massachusetts seems to have been poorer in 1689 than in '70. See Governor Bradstreet's answers to Lords of the Privy Council. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series. vol. 8, pp. 335–6. Boston, Charlestown and Salem are there called the principal places of trade. *idem.*

No export duty upon the produce of Massachusetts was imposed in or about 1680, but one penny a pound upon goods imported. This was the general tax (it seems) upon houses, land, cattle, and other estate of the country, yearly. The poll money was 20d per head. A small tax was put upon rum, cider, beer, &c. The whole revenue of Massachusetts from these sources was only about £1500 per annum, out of which the government had to be supported, officers' salaries paid, fortifications maintained, &c. In the times of the Indian wars, ten or fifteen general rates were obliged to be levied upon all men's estates in a year,—a severe burden to the Colony. In the years 1664–5, according to *Rawson*, the total income of Massachusetts was about £1200.

Besides the troubles occasioned by the Algerine pirates to our commerce—the troubles with the French at Nova Scotia [Acadia], who interrupted our fishing, and the tyrannical demands of Sir Edmund Andros upon our fishermen to pay for the privilege of fishing—there were the usual accidents of trade to meet, and a *double* custom to be paid by the merchants of Massachusetts who imported sugar, indigo, cotton wool, &c., into the Colony, and thence carried them to England—the full duty being demanded there. Gov. Bradstreet, therefore, asks of the King the privilege of free trade, (at least for some few ships for some time,) to build up the Colony. Massachusetts was built up commercially by an unrestricted trade. See Bradstreet's answer to the Lords of the Council, in 1680. Mass, Hist. Coll., 3d series, vol. 8, pp. 332 to 340.

Bradstreet's views of the commerce of Massachusetts in 1680, were rather gloomy. Salem, as one of the three principal places of trade in Massachusetts, must have suffered severely.

* In the Judgment to vacate the Colonial Charter in 1684, among the sins of the Colony are especially enumerated the establishment of customs, the coining of money and the levying a poll tax. This Judgment (a copy) can be found in the Mass. Hist. Coll. It is easy to see by this, that Massachusetts was regarded in England as having then asserted, practically, her independence of the mother country. Her spirit, moreover, on various civil occasions, both before and after this, proved to be of the indomitable order.

gram (Pilgrim ?) in B. She carries fish and empty hogsheads, and is to return with Dry Goods, viz: "Nails, blew lining, (Blue linen) Osnbrigs, Holland Duck and Cordage if cheap there." He mentioned also receiving Rum and "Malosses" (Molasses) from the Major at the hands of Mr. Benjamin Pitman. This letter of advice is very well written as a speci-

men of Chirography, and instructs the Consignee, "*If it shall please God that the said Ketch arrives safe at Barbados*," to receive her Cargo, &c. A higher power than the winds and the waves and the fallible efforts of man is indeed recognized in all the old Salem letters of advice now extant, not of P. E alone, but of the Brownes and others. Nor were such men indeed the less manly or generous for such a belief and acknowledgment, as the noble legacies for instance, of the Brownes to Salem, abundantly prove.

From 1694 to 1720 Mr. E. sends ketches to New Foundland, Cape Sable or Acadie to catch fish, sends these fish to Barbadoes, or other English West Indies, Surinam, perhaps Spain or the Streights. If to the West Indies or Surinam, he sends also lumber, shingles, oil (fish and whale?) and staves,* barrels, and

* This letter of 1694–5 may have some interest, and we therefore will give it entire. The Maj'r John Pilgram named was a merchant in Barbadoes, it would appear—most probably a Commission Merchant, and perhaps a native of Massachusetts.

Salem, Jan'y the 28th, 1694–5.

Maj'r John Pilgram,

Sr. Yours Received p [per] Mr. Benjamin Pittman with one Envoice and bill of Loading Enclosed of four hhd of Rum and four hhd of Malloses. The Rum was in good condition, But the Malloses was above one-fourth part Leeked, or taken out. Mr. Pitman gives me to understand that it was so before it came on Board; Therefore I had not any satisfaction of him; the Casks were good and tight Sr. these doe likewise signifye that I have Inclosed herein a bill of Lading of eight hhd. of fish for my acco't, and Resque which I have Shiped on board the Ketch the Prosporous Benjamin Stone Master and consigned to you. If it should please God that the said Ketch arrive safe at Barbados I Intreat you to Receive the said fish and dispose of the same for me, and Returne the Produce by the same Ketch in Barbados goods if to be had (if not) in dry Goods (viz) nailes blew lining osnbrigs Holland duck Corpage if it be cheap there Knowing not what is best I leave it to your discretion to make Returns in what you think best for my advantage, but in case the sd ketch should not Returne hither directly Pray send the Effects by the first that is bound for Salem if Barbados Good, If English Goods by any bound for Salem or Boston; fish is very scarce here is none to be Expected till the Spring Sr I have not anything else to trouble you with at pr'sent onely my Humble Service to you & your good Lady unknowne I Remaine Sr. your

Most Humble Servant at Command

PHILLIP ENGLISH.

Salem 28 day of January, 1694–5.

Invoice of 8 hhd of fish shiped on board the ketch Prosporous Benja. Stone Master upon the Proper Acco't & Resque of me Phillip Englis of Salem in New England & Goeth Consigned to Maj'r John Pilgram in Barbados marked & numbered as pr Margent with the Contence of each hhd as foll (vizt)

P. E.		£.	s.	d.
No. 1.	To 1 hhd Con't 8½ Quintles att 15s per Quintle is	6	07	06
No. 2.	To 1 hhd Cont. 7½ Quintles att 15s per Quintle is	5	12	06
No. 3. to 8.	To 6 hhds Cont. 6½ Quintles att 15s 6d per Quintle is 39 qtls	30	04	06
	To 8 Empty hhds at 5s per piece,	2	00	00
	Errors Excepted by me	44	04	06

PHILIPE ENGLISH.

* The following memorandum found among the English papers, besides giving the names of a few wharves in Salem, in 1695, shews the kind of business done at them.

1695.

Aug. 15th—Account of goods taken abord ye Siupe prudent Mary.

15th—taken from Mr. Turner's worfe 18 hund Red Oke hh. Staves.

16th—taken from Capt. Sewel's worfe 5000 of Shingel

19 day—Loded on bord from Mr. Brown's worfe 15 hund of hh. staves, and of Mr. Hurst from Winter Island: 6 hh. of fish G. H. 1 to 6.

20 day—taken on bord 4 hh of fish S B 1 to 4.

2 day—taken on bord from Mr hurst 8 hh of fish G. H. No 7 8 and D. H. and 12 hundard of etaves from Mr. Brewn's worfe.

23 day—4 hh of fish from Marvelhed for Capt. Allen BS A 1. 2 BC A 3. 4.

24 day—13 hundard staves from Mr. Browne's worfe

25 day—2 hh fish and 3 bar oyle from Marvelhed S. B No. 5. 6.

27 day—2 hh of fish of Mr. Hurst.

28 day—4 hh of fish from Mr. Engels of Sam'll Browns S. B.

29 day—to 6 hundard of staves at Mr. Brown's worfe.

hogsheads. In return he takes Sugar, Molasses, Rum and Cotton Wool. He then sends from Salem to Maryland or Virginia,* Sugar,

1st September—3 hund of staves from Mr. Brown's worfe—and 4000 of shingels.
8 day— 2 hh of fish from Mr. Engol's W H No 1 2 for Mr. Hurst, and 1 hh & 1 bar I G No 1 2 for Mr. Kitchen."

NOTE. The above memorandum seems to imply that Turner's, Sewall's, and Brown's wharves were devoted to the stave, shingle and lumber business, while the fishing trade was confined to Winter Island. This agrees well with the history and traditions in respect to Winter Island being the great depot of the fishing trade even from the settlement of the town.

According to the first "Booke of Recordes for Masters, &c.," in the Essex County Court office, Winter Island had some settled "customes" of its own. In the first of these books, pp. 24–5, Oct. 1700, there appear certain depositions of various parties in regard to the delivery of fish there. Some of the crew of the ship Leonora, Capt. Alexander Bowdidge, refused to take a boat load of fish from thence, unless the men delivering it for Capt. Benj'n Marston carried it down to Fish St, (which was probably close to the water) whereupon Nath'l Wallis, aged about 70, and Mathew Barton, aged about 58, testify to their certain knowledge that it hath ever been the custom of Winter Island for the masters of vessels to receive the fish at the end of their flakes at every part of the Island. The Island was then well covered with fish flakes most probably.

Winter Harbor was the long Cove which runs into the westward of the island, (now Cat Cove) and was well adapted for the ketches, sloops and larger shallops then in use. Probably not many even of our *schooners* up to 1740 ranged over 45 tons burthen. We judge so from a cursory perusal of the two Bookes of Recordes for Masters.

On the shores of Winter Island or the adjacent shores were granted in 1636–7 "half-acre lots"—"for fishing trade and to build upon," and among other very early merchants settling there was Pasco Foot —who was a very enterprising merchant, and died in 1670.

Right opposite Winter Island Harbor to the westward was Water-town, a fishing village on the Point of Rocks (the farm lately occupied by Mr. Eben Hathorne) which latter settlement, however, appears to have been on private land. A large population dwelt formerly on Winter Island and adjacent shores, including Water-town. The Neck at one time is said to have furnished 100 men capable of bearing arms—doubtless a sturdy and hardy set.

Turner's wharf was at the foot of Turner's street, we believe. Sewall's wharf we are at a loss to locate. Brown's wharf may be that wharf which a Capt. Brown, in 1681, desired to build, and for that purpose got the town's interest *"in the cove down against his father's house."* See page 141 of vol. 1 Salem Records. Which of the Browns or Brownes it was, does not, however, appear.

* The following copy of an old printed Bill of Lading of 1707, with contents may not be out of place here:



Shipped by the Grace of GOD, in good order and well conditioned, by Sam'll Browne, Phillip English, Capt. Wm. Bowditch, Wm. Pickering & Sam'll Wakefield in and upon the Good sloop called the may flower whereof is Master under GOD for this present voyage Jno Swasey, and now riding at Anchor in the harbour of Salem, and by God's Grace bound for Virginia or Merriland—To say, twenty hogshats of Saltt one quarter partt on the Acct & Resque of Sam'll Browne —one quarter on the Acctt & Resque of Philip English—one quarter partt on the Acctt & Resque of Captt. Wm. Bowditch and Wm. Pickering—one quarter partt on the Acctt & Resque of Sam'll Wakefield—Being Marked and Numbered as in the Margent, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Virginia or Merriland (the danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Mr. Sam'll Wakefield or to his Assigns, he or they Paying Freight for the said Goods * * * with Primage and Avarage accustomed.

In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Sloop hath affirmed to Two Bills of Lading, all of this Tenour and Date, One of which two Bills being Accomplished the other one to stand Void. And so GOD send the Good Sloop to her desired Port in safety. A M E N. Dated in Salem Dec. 24, 1707.

JOHN SWASEY.

On this Bill of Lading is endorsed:

"Rec'd. the Contents of the within menshened Bill of Layden—per Sam'll Wakefield.

Marelvnd, May the 31, 1708.

By another Bill of Lading, not separated, from this, and of the same date, Sam'l Browne, Wm. Bowditch and Wm. Pickering being the shippers, it seems the same sloop took the following additional items:

"To Virginia or Merriland"—"Five tearces of Malasses, two hogshuts Rum, twelve barrills Rackett Sider, forty Eightt Sider pails, two barrils and one firkin Shugar, forty Eightt Shugar boxes, twenty four gallonds & two gallond Runlits, twelve three gallond and twelve four gallond Runlits, Sixtiene new

Rum and Molasses, (the result of his West India voyages) and in addition, Salt, Cider, Wooden Ware, Casks, Barrels, Kegs and Cans. He takes from thence to Salem, Wheat, Indian Corn, Hides, Peltry, Tobacco, Old Iron, Pewter, Copper, perhaps also some Dry goods imported from England into these countries. If there be much Tobacco purchased, it is to be sent to London, by some English vessel, and sold on P. E's. account, and the money paid to his Banker there. If he sends his fish to Spain, the return cargo is Salt from St. Ubes or Isle of May, with Wine, we should judge, from Fayal or the Wine Islands. We can trace one of his voyages to Rhode Island and Connecticut, to load with *Staves* for Ireland; and find some papers, and items in Felts annals, which make it very probable that he traded with England and Holland.

His vessels were most probably of the size then common in the Colonies, and probably all built in Salem. Such were then called "*Plantation built.*" They consisted of *Sloops*, which were from 20 to 36 tons burthen, carrying five or six men, *Ketches*, which were from 25 to 45 tons, carrying five or six men, and *Brigantеens*, from 60 to 70 tons and carrying from six to eight men. In 1698–9, there was a *Ship* in Salem of 200 tons built here—another then here of *eighty* tons. The most of the Salem Shipping then averaged from 20 to 40 tons. Some of his vessels were named from various members of his family, such for instance, as the sloop Mary, and the briganteen William and Susannah. The cargoes carried to Virginia and Maryland seem to be worth when sold there, about *£140. It seems that Wm. Hollingworth, his father in law, had been before him engaged in this trade, and also Capt. John Brown, son of Elder John of Salem. When the Dutch ravaged Virginia, about 1667, both these merchants suffered severely, Wm. H. being captured by the Dutch. As an item in regard to these Maryland & Virginia voyages, the Captain gets a commission of 5 per cent. on sales. Kent Island, Maryland, appears to have been a favorite market, to judge by old accounts.

The Salem trade with Virginia and Maryland flourished (comparatively speaking) between 1690 and 1720, though it was important between 1660 and '70. It appears to have been a somewhat peculiar trade, owing to the peculiar condition of those countries. New England had been settled by parties gathering into towns, but the former States by planters, who scattered themselves over the country. Consequently while New England had towns, with mechanics, traders, artizans, &c.,—all concentrated and co-workers,—the more southern colonies had a sparse population and no towns, markets, or indeed, capital. Tobacco was the principal crop of those colonies—was in fact their currency to a good degree—and only occupied the planters as a crop during the summer, and left them often idle and lazy the remainder of the year. They also raised wheat, Indian corn, oats, barley, pease, and many sorts of pulse in great plenty, and supplied Barbadoes and the other Leeward Islands, and also New England with such produce. At the date of 1696, and for some years before, the New England colonies

half barrils twelve pecks (?) on the proper Acett & Resqe &c."

This Bill of Lading has also Sam'll Wakefield's receipt as of the Same place, and date with the other. Both Bills show some of our Salem exports to Virginia and Maryland at that time.

The following Receipt shows some of the articles then brought from Maryland to Salem and the rates of their freight.

Mary Land. "RECEIVED on board the Sloop Mary Bound for Salem in New England on accompt of Mr. Phillip English Merchant there to say one thousand and fifty pounds of Hides, Three hundred Eighty & Eight pounds of Iron, Thirteen & ½ pounds of Brass, Eight pounds of puter (pewter) and Two hundred fifty five ½ bushels of wheat, w'ch I promise to deliver to s'd Mr. Phillip English or assignes (danger of ye Seas Excepted) he or they paying freight for ye same, fforty shillings for ye Hides, Brass & puter and Iron—for ye Wheat Eighteen pence per bushel: having signed to Two receipts of ye same tenor and date the one to be accomplished ye other to stand void. I say rec'd

per Wm English."

St Mariot ffeby 27th 1711-12.

*This sum is probably only a quarter part of the true value of such voyages.

had not been able to raise much wheat or Indian corn, owing to the early frosts, and had to seek their supplies of grain from Virginia and adjacent coasts. The sloops and Ketches from Massachusetts, which ran to these Southern shores, had to gather their cargoes from wide and scattered plantations, and at great loss of time. It was no uncommon thing (says a writer in 1696 to 1698, giving an account of Virginia—Mass. Hist. Coll., 5th vol., 1st series, pages 126 to 129,) for ships to be three or four months in Virginia waiting for a cargo of tobacco, which might, under other circumstances, be dispatched in a fortnight's time, and which delay doubled the price of freights. It probably took our Masschusetts craft a long time to dispose of their cargoes under such circumstances, as well as get their return cargoes, and it is very probable that they pushed their little sloops and ketches far into the *creeks and bays of Virginia and Maryland, traded off their cargoes over a wide space, and collected their return cargoes with the same difficulty and delay.—The writer, who has left us these facts in regard to the condition of trade in Virginia at that date, regrets that that State had not originally laid out towns as the New Englanders did—with home lots for gardens and orchards, outlots for cornfields, and meadows and country lots for plantations, with overseers and gangs of hands to cultivate them. He says this opportunity was lost by the Southerners, who seated themselves, without rule or order, in country plantations, and that the general Assemblies of Virginia, seeing the inconveniences of this dispersed way of living, had made several attempts to bring the people into towns, which had all proved ineffectual. Such a state of things of course affected trade unfavorably.

It is difficult, therefore, to tell the *length of these Southern voyages of our fathers, who were delayed not alone in those days by imperfect means of navigation, but a want also of business facilities. Their voyages to England, Europe or the West Indies, were undoubtedly much longer than those now. *Dunton*, who sailed as passenger from England to Boston, in 1685, was over four months in making the passage—which appears, however, to have been of an extra length, as the provisions gave out—and they were on the point of starving, on arrival at Boston. As an evidence of the insecurity felt at that late day, from Corsairs, and even in the English Channel, Dunton says they were all alarmed there by the appearance of a vessel, which they took to be a *Salleeman* (a pirate from *Sallee*, a fortified maritime town in Morocco,) and prepared for defence, but found themselves mistaken. If from a third to a half of the length of modern voyages was added to the voyages

*The following note from John English to John Touzell, (his brother-in-law) may serve to show somewhat of the nature of the Maryland trade at that date. Both were in Maryland at the time, collecting a cargo separately or together, and probably for Philip English. It would appear as if *barter* entered essentially into the character of this trade:

NOTE.

"*To Capt. John Touzell at Wickicorne Creek:*

KATHORINE CREEK, Desemb'r 28, 1722.

Brother Touzel.—This is to let you [know] of our welfare hear, and I hope is so with you and the rest of you. hear is Capt. Gansby and Capt'n Solter hear, and they have got abundance of dry and weat (wet?) goods, and Capt. Solter Traids for pork and Tar and corn, and he sells Rum for 6 shillings per gallon in pork [paid in pork.] William Paird is with Capt'n Gansby. Capt. Ensly is bin hear twis (twice) and he says Nothing about Molasses Nor Suger. I haue 3 barrells of pork and 3 of corn—the Spineys ows me Corn and pork. I haue bin to John Ward's, and he says he will bring it Down to me. I haue resiued your Leatter. Father Burkett and his wife giues [their love] and I Remain

Yr Louing Brother, JOHN ENGLISH."

It is very likely that the various Captains named in this note were all Salem men, as they are named familiarly, and not as of any other place.

*In the orders given to Capt. Wm. English by his father, Nov. 25, 1709, on a voyage to Maryland, Capt. E. is ordered to make all the dispatch he can there, so as to be back to Salem early in the spring. A Maryland voyage, made with all dispatch at that date, would seem then to have taken the better part of *four* or *five* months.

themselves, they would not probably exceed the true length of the old voyages as compared with the modern.

One of the favorite craft of our fathers (and Phillip English appears to have owned several such) was the **Ketch*—the name and rig of which, however, have disappeared from modern commerce,—at least in our State and neighborhood. The last went out of date about 1800. Elias Haskett Derby had one in 1799, called the *John*. An old sea captain now living, says that the Ketch was two-masted, with square sails on the foremast, which was a stout tall mast stepped far forward, and a mainsail on the mainmast, which was a shorter mast than the foremast. The Ketch sailed very fast before the wind. The rig of the Briganteen does not appear. The sloop rig was perhaps similar to our own. The *Schooner* seems to have gradually supplanted the Ketch. It first appears in our Salem marine about 1720. We find among the English papers an old receipt of 1727, wherein one Wm. Browne, Jr. receives "*on board ye *Skoner Kingfisher, Captain John Pitman, master*," certain fish, &c. The schooner is said to have originated at Gloucester in 1714. P. E. owned several †Sloops, and perhaps one Schooner, and retained perhaps a Sloop or two in business to employ himself as late as 1733–4.

Abont the year 1715, Philip English lost his son William, with whom he had been connected in business, and which must have been a severe blow to him, as this son was more after the pattern of his father, than perhaps any other of the sons. At the age of 19 he was commanding the sloop Arke, belonging to his father, bound for Virginia, and his accounts with, and letters to, his father and other business men, at various times, prove him to have been able and competent as a business man. He died at the early age of 25, and probably when his father was beginning to believe he would succeed him in his commerce. Philip English, however, still continued in business, and, from appearances, did not retire entirely from trade until about 1733–4.

In 1725 (according to Felt,) he is put into our Salem jail for refusing as an Episcopalian to pay taxes for the support of the East Church (Congregational.) How long he staid is uncertain; but probably not long. In 1732 the law by which he was imprisoned was repealed. In 1734 he appears, together

*In the Essex Institute, in a volume called Elements and Practice of Rigging, London 1794," between pages 220 and 221 can be seen engravings of an European Ketch, and some pinnaces, and between pages 238 and 9, an engraving of a French Shallop.

There appears to be no material difference between the rig of the ancient and modern Sloops of New-England, to judge by drawings of the former on a map of Boston with its Harbour made by Capt. Bonner in 1722. As no Schooners seem to appear on this map, we cannot state what, if any, difference there may be between their ancient and modern rig. It would seem by this as if the Schooner at that date was very rarely met with.

It is to be hoped that those who may have drawings, paintings, or engravings of our early New England vessels, will preserve them as mementos of our early commerce, and place them where they may be of avail to the commercial historian. Our New England vessels from the commencement, we have reason to believe, were somewhat different from those of the old Country—and these peculiarities are worth knowing and preserving; especially as they were sometimes *improvements*.

*In an old account of a fishing voyage made up in 1733, and in our possession, the vessel is described on the *outside* as the "*Shooner* John," and on the inside as "ye *Schooner* John." John Webber was master.

†In 1733–4, Philip English is paying Benj. Beadle money on account of Capt. Wm. Smith, which seems like a commercial transaction. In 1732 he gives a Sloop to one of his children, which shows him to have been engaged in commerce up to that time: He was then over 80 years of age—81 or 2. As an item of the value of a sloop in 1712 we find in the Book of Recordes for Masters the recorded sale by Eben'r Lambert, Shipwright of Salem, of ye good Sloop Betty, lately built, of about 80 tons burthen, to Mr. Benj'n Marston of Salem for £240, that is £3 per ton.

with his family, as the donors of land for a site for St. Peter's Church in Salem. In 1735 he is put under guardianship as being clouded in mind, and in 1736 dies, aged about 86 years, and is buried in the Episcopal Church yard.

He seems not to have confined himself alone to commerce, but to have bought largely into real estate. When the division of the Commons took place in Salem—that is, the land which was held in common by its inhabitants, he held twenty-five shares or rights, being the largest single proprietor. In 1692 he owned some fourteen houses in Salem. Before his death, however, he seems to have given to his children or grandchildren, some of his real estate, and perhaps other portions of his property, since his inventory shows no personal estate of any consequence, nor anything like the amount of real estate he had once owned. He seems to have been treated with great respect by his children, who always call him "*Honored Father English*" in their accounts with him, and sometimes in their mention of him.

After the witchcraft madness had blown over, Philip English seems to have been for a time popular in Salem, since he was then chosen a Selectman, and a Deputy to the General Court. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, and by the most distinguished then among us.

He lost his first wife, Mary, in 1694, and in 1698 married Sarah Ingersoll, a widow. By his first wife he had seven children, of whom only three survived him, viz: Philip, who married Mary Ellis, Mary, who married William Browne, and Susannah, who married John Touzell. Philip inherited the *Blue Anchor Tavern*, which his grandmother, Elinor Hollingworth, kept when poor, and in her widowhood, and he appears to have run out the whole before 1750, in spite of the efforts of Richard *Derby to help him. Susannah died not long after her father, and soon after her husband, who was also a native of Jersey, a very well educated sea captain, and who was employed both by Philip English and William and Samuel Browne, as captain and agent, and who left about as large a fortune as Mr. English himself. By his second wife, Philip English appears to have had a son John English, whose fate is uncertain. The direct male line is perhaps extinct, but his descendants in the female line are still in existence.

His life appears to have been an adventurous, enterprising one, with some extraordinary trials also, like that of the Witchcraft furor and misfortunes; and it is not to be wondered at, that, when over eighty years of age, a mind which had been so tried as his, should have set amid clouds and darkness. So set the mortality of his nature, but not its immortality, we trust.

There is no portrait extant of Philip English, as is the case also with the Brownes (Benjamin and William) who were his cotemporaries, and who so nobly remembered our Salem schools. Philip English is represented by tradition to have been of middle stature, and strong physically. In character, Philip English had some marked points, was high-spirited: not ungenerous, impulsive withal, and at times choleric, perhaps. He is represented to have been kind to the poor, yet not over conciliatory to his peers. He may have felt sore on the subject of Episcopacy, and the denial of toleration, and was not likely, in that respect, certainly, to have conciliated the powerful Congregationalists. At times he appears to have been popular, and it is evident by his papers that he was often on terms of business intimacy with the then prominent merchants of Salem; and the elder Benjamin Browne seems to have been somewhat nearer than a business friend, to judge by one or two old papers. Some of the papers of the Brownes are still mingled among his own. His own

*Richard Derby most probably out of friendship to the father, Philip English, bought the estate of Philip Jr., and gave him permission to use the same for his natural life, Philip Jr. then being embarrassed in business.

immediate neighbors seem to have liked him, and in 1732 heartily repelled the charge, then made against him by the Selectmen, of being unsound in mind, and triumphed in their opposition. In 1735, however, it would appear that the authorities triumphed in turn, but Mr. English was then already on the brink of the grave, and was soon released from all human supervision and control. A naturally buoyant spirit, joined with a higher trust and stay, had borne him through and over the cares and struggles and sorrows of a long life, and some sad and peculiar troubles, and whatever may have been his failings or shortcomings, he was honored in death, and attended to his grave by a large concourse of the people, who were evidently gathered together, not out of respect to his wealth, which was not then so great, but to those qualities which are really independent of mere wealth or distinction. He must have been looked upon, we think, as having been somewhat enterprising and useful in his day and generation, and as a man really superior to his frailties, whatever they may have been.

When Philip English came to Salem, he must have found the town already a commercial place—decidedly so in its character—and possessing also rich and influential merchants. From some circumstantial items, almost amounting to evidence, it is not at all unlikely that Philip English came hither, allured by stories he had heard as a boy from Jersey traders or merchants who had preceded him.—In 1661 there was in Salem a Mr. John Browne who is described as of Jersey, and who enters into an agreement with William Stevens of Gloucester to build a ship of about 110 tons at £3 per ton, for himself, and two partners, Messrs. Nicholas and John Balhack then in Jersey. This Mr. John Browne agrees to pay Stevens in goods, in part, at Mr. Corwin's, Mr. Price's, or his own store, we should judge. The trade between the Isle of Jersey and Salem was then already established [in 1661] and Browne appears to have been a resident partner and merchant here. The Jersey trade then with Salem was very probably the importation of hosiery and shoes from Jersey itself, and wines, brandies and fruits from France, Spain or Portugal, and linens from France or Holland as a return for New England fish (staves?) and lumber. This trade with Jersey, and the neighboring countries of Europe, may have begun before 1660, and continued, we should judge by old papers, (in the English and Touzel families) up to the American Revolution, if not later.

It is very probable that this Mr. John Browne, of Jersey, permanently settled in Salem, as in January, 1673, a person of that name, who does not appear to be John Brown, the ruling Elder, gets a grant of 50 acres of the town of Salem, (Vol. 1, Grants, page 117) on the Lynn boundary line, and a hill in our Great Pastures still retains the name of *Bellyhac*, which may be *Ballhac*, and named so by this Mr. Browne as near his own estate, and in compliment to one or both of his partners, the Ballhacs, in Jersey. A William Browne, the son of a Mr. John Browne, married the eldest daughter of Philip English, and it is not unlikely that he was the son or grandson of the Jersey merchant, with whom, or his children, Philip English would (as coming from the same little Island) doubtless be well acquainted. This seems to be the more probable, as there cannot be traced as yet any connection between this Browne, and any other Salem family of that name then resident at S. —though there may be. At all events there came over here as early as 1660, a Jersey merchant by the name of Browne, who appears to have had a trading house here in 1661, and when Philip English comes here, he finds that the Jersey trade with Salem is already begun, and very probably flourishing. There came here also, after Philip English, quite a number of Jersey people, whose descendants are still among us.

We have said that Philip English found Salem about 1670 a decidedly commercial place—that is, Salem proper—the body of the town—and whoever looks into the history of Salem,

will see the causes of this, which it may not be unprofitable here to glance at, and briefly review, for they are peculiar. When Salem was first colonized by the Home Company, its trade was doubtless limited to and with that company to a great degree, if not entirely — This state of things may have lasted from 1628 to 1634-5. When the company relaxed its hold on the Colony, Salem was left to the commercial liberty of the charter, and took, most probably, more even than was granted by it. Before 1636 she began doubtless to build small vessels—shallops, pinnaces, and perhaps ketches, for fishing and trade with the adjacent colonies. The scarcity of grain, with which our people were afflicted in 1631, compelled them to send a pinnace down to Cape Cod for corn, and such voyages were not perhaps unfrequent for years afterward. It is very probable that traders at Salem searched the adjacent coasts for furs and fish in small vessels up to 1640, and for years afterwards. About 1634-5 say, we may safely conclude that our Salem commerce begins to bestir itself, in a very humble way, however. At that time there was most probably a settlement on the Neck, (see Dr. Bentley's History of Salem) which would naturally be the nucleus of the marine trade of the town. As early as 1636, eight individuals were granted half acre lots at Winter Harbor (on the Neck,) for fishing trade, and to build upon. Shallop Cove (now Collins's) was early used by the fishermen for light shallops, (as tradition has it) and who lived themselves in a village on its shores.— Though Salem was settled on the North River at first, yet the marine business of the town— its fishing, boat-building, &c.,—seems to have centred at the lower part, on and near the Neck, and perhaps on the harbor proper.

The authorities of Salem were not at first zealous for trade, to judge by what Hutchinson says. That policy, however, did not last long, for in 1635 (Dr. Bentley says,) a plan for the fisheries was adopted and pursued, and it greatly assisted the prosperity of the town. Salem began to flourish, he says, in 1634. The Home Company must then have had little or no control here. Now comes (in 1635) the peculiar policy adopted in Salem, which placed her on a firm commercial basis, the fruits of which were so obvious in 1640, and which helped to carry her so rapidly forward to commercial success. Those, who at this date, petitioned for farms, obtained them (says Dr. B.,) on the condition *that they should sell their houses in town to accommodate more easily all who came for trade, and unless they sold their houses in town, they were only to hold their land by lease—the term not to exceed three years.*— Dr. B. further adds, that, as Salem held much common land, it could offer such inducements as could draw new and rich settlers, and that such men as found the best lands pre-occupied in other towns, could obtain great advantages in Salem, and to judge by a cursory review of the 1st volume of the Records of Salem, we ourselves are convinced that the town at that day considered that it held the reverter of the fee in almost, if not all, cases where certain conditions were not complied with—those conditions being based upon the industry and usefulness of the grantee to the town in some way or other, and sometimes specified in the grant itself. *Colonization of the right kind* was the object of the town, which evidently considered the original fee of the soil in Salem to be in itself, as is proved by the early grants which were sometimes made by the committee of thirteen for the town, and sometimes by the town in town meeting assembled. It is proved also by the nature of the grants made to those who founded the large fishing village on Winter Island, and built wharves, storehouses, and even dwelling-houses there. None of these got a *fee* from the town, but only a *use*. To obtain a *fee even in the body of the town,

*The fee of all lands in Salem, not specifically granted by the town, seems to have been considered anciently as belonging to the town, and to be used *Pro Bono Publico*. Those who wished to build wharves even went to the town for permission, and this was the custom down to a comparatively modern pe-

the conditions (express or implied) must be performed by the grantee. This at least seems to have been the general rule ; and the policy Dr. B. speaks of as having been applied to the early commercial settlers of Salem, is in harmony with the records so far as we have been able to examine them. It was a singular policy, but an effective one, and based on a community of industrial and useful interests, and is of great importance also as determining the ancient landed rights of the town. It would certainly appear as if Salem still held, according to her old laws and practice, the fee in all lands, by sea and shore, not yet specifically granted by the town since its settlement. This may be an anomaly in the town histories of our ancient Commonwealth, but so it seems to be by our records. Salem appears to have been almost a Commonwealth in itself.

This policy, mentioned by Dr. B., was a great stimulus to commerce, as it enabled commercial men to choose good commercial sites in the town, and was not prejudicial to the farmers, who got in exchange for town lands, the meadows and rich land in the rear, and on the outskirts of the town. Joined to this policy was a comparative freedom of trade under the charter, and under the English Commonwealth. Dr. Bentley states that not only was a ship of 300 tons built here in 1640, but that another of 200 tons was built in 1642, and that 80 per cent profit was made this year —in trade. Though Marblehead was then superior to Salem in the fisheries, and though Gloucester, Manchester, and the whole Eastern shore of Massachusetts was then also engaged in the fishery, yet Salem doubtless flourished, and enjoyed her share of the general prosperity which prevailed over the Colony in 1645. The agricultural rivalry of Ipswich at this period may have checked Salem as a farming town—though it probably only directed her attention the more keenly to her commercial interests. In 1641 and in 1643, Salem must have been largely engaged in shipbuilding, we should judge, by the several orders of the General Courts in these years referring to shipbuilding ; and in 1642 Salem pays the next highest sum of the Colony tax—£75—Boston £120—which shows Salem to have been well grounded in her prosperity at that time. She may have been somewhat checked in 1642, but not seriously, so far as we can find.

In 1646 Salem has a viewer of Pipe staves ordered for it by General Court, as defective, worm-eaten staves had been sent abroad to our prejudice. The General Court order viewers for some other ports also. This however shows that Salem was then one of the principal exporters of such articles, and doubtless made a profit thereon. Salem may be in 1651 one of the places aimed at by the Commonwealth in England as furnishing Virginia and Barbadoes with gunpowder (those colonies being then Royalist,) and so stood in jeopardy of losing her free trade privileges ; but this storm blew over, and from thence to 1660—and '70 it is evident she must have flourished with the colony. In 1664 she had her rich merchants, and in 1670 was well grounded in the European, West Indian, and Colonial trade—and the wise policy of the town—commencing in the day of small things—in 1635—had invited capital, skill, and industry to her harbor and shores, and in less than forty years, Salem was a commercial town favorably known in Europe —trading with all nations—and comparatively wealthy. Such doubtless was the town, as it met the eyes of Philip English, when he came here between 1660 and '70, and such the causes and effects of its prosperity. The wise policy of encouragement—the wealth of its resources, viz, its fisheries, lumber, and furs—and the general freedom of its commerce—all combined to place it in this short period on a substantial prosperity.

Phillip English found the town a prominent commercial place when he entered it, and lived

riod. The history of the ancient common rights of Salem, and of the grants made by her, prove that Salem considered the fee of her land to be in herself, and she the great grantor.

to see it more than double in population, and most probably in means. In 1680 (about 10 years after he came here) Massachusetts had about 120 ships, sloops, ketches and other craft. In 1686 *Dunton* (who was then here) writes of Salem as "being reported next to Boston in trade." Between 1714 and '18 (according to Custom House Returns) Massachusetts had 492 vessels of 25,406 tons and 3,492 Seamen, and in 1731, 38000 tons of shipping, about one half of which was in the European trade. Salem, as next in commercial importance to Boston, must be credited with her share of this shipping and attendant wealth. For the 50 years or more, which Phillip English occupied in commercial pursuits, there must have been a great advance in the commercial importance of the town, spite of commercial losses and drawbacks to its prosperity.—He also grew up with—or was a contemporary with a body of merchants, whose lives, characters, papers, acts, and histories, prove them to have been solid, reliable, useful enterprising men—and not a few of them generous and public spirited. Some of them were the immediate descendants of the old Puritan leaders of the Colony. The Corwins, the Sewalls, the Higginsons, the Browns were really distinguished merchants—were wise men—not merely to acquire wealth, but in that higher wisdom—the skill to use it for noble ends and purposes, and as a *trust*, to which grave responsibilities attached. They were educated men also. The society of Salem, moreover, as ruled over by such men, was sensibly affected by their example, and it struck *Dunton* when here in 1686 forcibly, reminding him of the generous hospitality, the genuine ease, the sterling worth, the wise stability, and intellectual culture which characterized the really good society in England. *Dunton* came near forgetting old England, and even his home and wife, he tells us in his own amusing way while in Salem—being tempted to remain here permanently.

Salem at that day (1686) doubtless was the most agreeable residence in New England, to judge by *Dunton's* account. Boston was more cosmopolitan, but Salem more homelike—more stable, more really social. It was a quiet town as compared with Boston—wealthy enough however for liberality and hospitality—somewhat reserved—retaining many of the sober restraints of Puritanism, and not a few of its primitive virtues. The venerable Higginson then presided over its morals and religion, assisted by the polished and agreeable, but not so solid Noyes. The eminent Epes over its learning—the wise, generous and hospitable Sewall over its laws; and around them were gathered a group of men, and merchants whose characters were unstained—whose minds were liberal and polished by books, travels, and knowledge of mankind—men who believed in religion, were brought up under its influence, and who reverenced its example, —men in whom the old and austere Puritanism of the Colony had become mellowed and softened—who had been blessed with abundance, and used it wisely. The society of the town was hospitable, refined, enlightened. Its merchants were men of their word, its people true to their engagements. *Dunton*, who came to Salem to dispose of part of his adventure of books, which he brought to Boston from England, disposed of a part here, and has not a word to say about the "Grecian faith," which a seller needed, who then traded with the Boston people. He was hospitably and kindly treated in S., well encouraged, and promptly paid, and therefore gives us a character written in letters of gold and silver.

He describes the town as then being about a mile long, with many fine houses in it. It is evident that he then found Salem a comparatively wealthy, refined, intelligent, stable town. And such Salem then was. It had, evidently, a society in which the elements of a wise conservatism were apparent. It was sober, yet given to hospitality—reserved, but generous and virtuous—free from show and pretence—of solid sterling worth, There were here too those habits, and ways and modes of thought and life which characterized good so

ciety in England, and somewhat too perhaps of the distinctions and grades of society there found—modified, however, by the more popular and peculiar views of New England.—Quality and quantity were terms understood and practised upon in our early N. E Society as elsewhere, but modified somewhat by our more popular ideas. Our society was not then quite English, though resembling it, but rather new English—an improvement on the original, and admitting of indefinite improvement also It may have looked to England somewhat for its models, but it also looked to its own origin and progress also, and the laws of reason and wisdom. There was a loyalty in it, which externally and superficially was directed to the royalty and aristocracy of England, but which in the hour of trial was really devoted to God and liberty. The men and women of New England were loyal to God and not the King, in any great emergency—God being to them the King even of Kings—and though this loyalty might sleep for a time, it never died. It was the deep inspiration—the calm belief—the motive power of their religion, their thoughts, their manners, and their laws—the key to their history—the secret of their triumphs. The idea of liberty in church—in State—in morals, manners, customs and laws, is the great idea, from whose seed has sprung New England as she is, religiously, intellectually, politically, commercially, and socially. It is the germ of our existence, our growth, our flower, and our fruit. It is a developement of that idea outwardly, and irresistably. From that idea we sprang as a people, and any and all attempts to make ourselves foreign to this are unnatural, absurd, unwise. We are not, and cannot be, of foreign growth or complexion. We may be made to so appear, we may even attempt to make ourselves appear so: but we must return finally to ourselves—a people whose seed is freedom—and whose law of developement, and growth, and flower, and fruitage, must simply come from—liberty—the liberty, moreover, which is of itself restraint, reason, wisdom, morality, order, religion—which abhors license in all its forms and ways, and is as far removed from it as the heavens are above the earth.

[The prosecution of Philip English and his wife for *witchcraft*, with the direct and collateral documentary evidence pertaining thereto, will be given as a Second Part of this Sketch in the coming volume of the Historical Collections.]

ABSTRACTS FROM WILLS, INVENTORIES, &c., ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF CLERK OF COURTS, SALEM, MASS.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

John Norton, April, 1663.

Copy of will of John Norton, of Boston, will dated 14th Jan., 1661, mentions brother Wm. Norton of Ipswich; gives him land he bought of Matthew Whipple, deceased, now in the occupation of Goodman Annable; gives him also the 100 pounds due unto him for his house in Ipswich which Mr. Cobbett now dwelleth in.

his ever endeared and honored mother thirty pounds in current money of England, to be paid to her use in London, at his Brother Thomas Norton's house.

his two sisters, Mrs. Martha Wood and Mrs. Mary Young, £20 between them, to be paid at Thomas's house in London. brother Thomas and Elizabeth, his wife.

gives ten pounds to the poor of the church of which he is an unworthy officer.

wife, Mrs. Mary Norton, and app'ts her sole ext'x, and app'ts Mr. Rawson secretary, and Elder Pen overseers. Proved June 12, 1663.

Mary Smith, May, 1663,

Will of Mary Smith, wife unto the late James Smith, of Marblehead, dated 28 Mar. 1663, daughter Catherine Eborne, & daughter Mary Rowland, grand children Samuel & Joseph Rowland, Mary Eborne, daughter Mary Rowland's five children, daughter Cathren Eborne, children Mary, Rebecca, Moses, Hannah, James & Sarah, Samuel, son James Smith,

John Bennett, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Inventory of the estate of widow Bennet of Marblehead, amounting to £76 02s 0d, returned and allowed 30th 4th mo., 1663.

Thos. Flint, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Will of Thomas Flint, dated Apr. 1, 1663.

To his wife 50 acres of improved, and his meadow and housing. To his son Thomas 30 acres of upland on his farme next to Mr. Gardner's, which was bought of Mr. Higginson and Goodman Goodell, as he sees fit, not encroaching on his mother's meadow or brother's land, as also ten pounds in corne or cattle, all of which he is to enjoy at age.

Sons George, John, Joseph, daughter Eliz'h, app'ts his wife sole ext'x, and Mr. Wm. Brown sr., Goodman Moulton and Jos. Swinnerton, Jr., to be overseers.

proved 2d 5th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate taken Apr. 14, 1663, by Robt. Moulton, Sam'l Verey, and Henry Phelps, amounting to £330 16s 0d, debts, £65, 13s, 4d, returned 2d 5th mo., and allowed.

Robt. Sallows, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Inventory of Robert Sallows, taken by Thos. Lowthropp, John Thorndike, Richard Brackenburg and John Patch, amounting to £143 9s 6d, returned 1st 5th mo., 1663.

Thos. Sallows, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Inventory of Thomas Sallows, taken 4th June, 1663, by Elias Stileman and Thos. Rootes, amounting to £105 11s 03d, returned 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Geo. Smith, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Inventory of estate of George Smith of Salem, taken 9th May, 1663, by Jeffrey Massey and Thos. Rootes, amounting to £9, returned and adm'n granted to the widow.

Henry Muddle, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Inventory of estate of Henry Muddle of Gloucester, amounting to £16 8s 10d; debts and charges £2 19s 9d, returned by Peter Duncan, and is allowed 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Wm. Cantlebury, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Will of Wm. Cantlebury of Salem, dated 2d April, 1661. wife Beatrice, son John, daughter Ruth, daughter Rebecca, and her children; mentions the farm he bought of Mr. George Corwinne, app'ts Beatrice his wife sole ext'x, and Mr. John Croade overseer.—Witnesses—John Porter, sr., and Nath'l Felton.

Proved 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate, taken 25th June, 1663, by Thos. Gardner, sen'r, and Nath'l Felton, amounting to £470 8s 0d. List of debts £45 15s 8d, returned 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Thomas Antram, 4*th mo.*, 1663.

Will of Thos. Antram of Salem, dated 24th 11th mo., 1662, mentions Isaac Burnape, the son of his daughter Hannah Burnape, under age, son Obadiah Antram, Thomas Spooner, Hilyard Veren.

app'ts Edmund Batter ex'or, and Thomas Spooner and Hilliard Veren my overseers.—Witnesses—Thomas Spooner and Wm. Woodcocke. Will signed but a few days before his death.

Proved 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate, taken Feb. 17, 1662, by Elias Stileman and John Ruche, amounting to £258 0s 0d, returned by Edmond Batter 3d 5th mo., 1663.

Robt. Roberts, *Sept.*, 1663.

Inventory of estate of Robt. Roberts of Ipswich, taken July 20, 1663, by Thos. Clarke and Ringdell Foster, Jr., amounting to £177 11s 8d, returned 29 Sept., 1663.

Thos. Scott, *Sept.*, 1663.

Receipt of Ric'd Kimball and Edmund Bridges, for £24, Sarah Scott's portion of her father's estate, paid by Ezekiel Rogers, May 10, 1661.

Receipt of Mary Scott for £25, her portion of her father Thomas Scott's estate, paid by Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, Apr. 23, 1663.

Receipt of Hannah Boswort, of £5, his wife Abigail's share of her father Thomas Scott's estate, Oct. 1, 1663.

John Comings, 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of estate of John Comings, in possession of John Ormes, Salem, taken 26th November, 1663, by Edmond Batter and Walter Price, amounting to £47 14s 6d. returned 14th 9th mo, 1663, and John Gardner and John Ormes were app't adm'rs.

John Pickworth, 9th mo., 1663.

Will of John Pickworth, dated 27th 4th mo., 1663, wife Ann Pickworth, eldest son, John, 3 sons, Samuel, Joseph and Benjamin, daughters Ruth Macpherson and Varun Collem, youngest dau Abigail, app'ts his wife, John and Sam'l, Thomas Jones and Wm. Bennet, overseers. proved 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate taken 25th Aug't, 1663, by Wm. Allen and Robert Leach, amounting to £168 4s 0d. returned by Ann Pickworth 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Rich'd Rootens, 9th mo., 1663.

Will of Rich'd Rootens, dated June 12, 1663, mentions his wife, his kinsman, Edmond Rooten, Jonathan Hartshorne; gives his pastor, Mr. Whitney, forty shillings. Witness—Henry Rhodes, Robert Driver, and Francis Burrill, his wife to be ex'tx. Henry Rhodes and George Taylor, overseers. proved 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of above estate taken Sept. 20, 1663, by Nath'l Handforth and Francis Burrill, £280 6s 2d; list of debts, £9 9s 0d, returned 25th 9th mo., 1663.

Elias Stileman, 9th mo., 1663.

Inventory of Elias Stileman, taken 7th 9th month, 1662, by Edmond Batter and Hilliard Veren, amounting to £176 12s 6d. List of debts £279 12s 4d, returned 26th 9th mo., 1663.

Gershom Lambert, Mar., 1664.

Will of Gershom Lambert of Rowley, 16th Mar., 1664, mentions Aunt Rogers. (Brothers.) Thos. Lambert, John Lambert, John Spofford sr, Charles Brewer, Richard Lighton, cousin Mary Brewer, cousin Eliz'h Platt, sister Ann, wife of Thos. Nelson; Thos. Nelson, ex'or. proved 29th Mar., 1664.

Thos. Barnes, 4th mo., 1664.

Inventory of estate of Thos. Barnes of Salem, taken 12th 11th mo., 1663, by Walter Price, Elias Stileman, amounting to £337, 18s 9d; list of debts, amounting to £120 13s 0d, allowed 24th 4th mo., 1664.

Henry Harwood, 4th mo., 1664.

Inventory of estate of Henry Harwood of Salem, taken 10th 1st mo., 1663-4, by Joseph Grafton, Geo. Gardner, John Gardner and Henry Bartholomew, amounting to £163 14s 6d, allowed 27th 4th mo., 1664.

Testimony (dated 29th 4th mo., 1664,) of Messrs. John Higginson and Henry Bartholomew as to the minde of said Harwood, in the disposing of his estate to his wife as long as she lives, and after her death to be equally divided between his kinswoman and his wife's daughter, Elizabeth Nixon, except a legacy of four pounds to the poor of the church in bearing the charge of the Lord's Supper.

Copy of the order of Court held at Salem 29th 4th mo., 1664, app'ting the widow ad'mx and after her decease, Jane Flinders, wife of Ric'h Flinders, to have all the land, and Eliz'h, wife of Matthew Nixon, to have the balance.

Sam'l Beadle, 4th mo., 1664.

Will of Sam'l Beadle of Salem, dated Mar. 12, 1663, son Nath'l Beadle, dau Dorothy, three smallest children, "now at home with me," Samuel, Thomas and Eliz'h, appt's Walter Price ex'or and John Croad and Hillyard Veren overseers. approved 30th 4th mo., '64.

NATHAN REED.

Hon. Nathan Reed, whose lithograph is inserted in this number, was born in Warren, Mass., July 2, 1759. He was son of Reuben and Tamerson Reed, of Warren; Reuben was son of Nathaniel and Phebe Reed; Nathaniel, son of Thomas Reed of Sudbury, and his wife Abigail; migrated in early life from Sudbury to Warren. Thomas was son of Thomas and Mary Reed, of Sudbury; the elder Thomas was son of Elias, who was son of William, of Maidstone, in the County of Kent, England, Professor of Divinity, and his wife Lucy. The earliest notice of the name in America, is in Woburn, Mass., and thence moved to Sudbury. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1781 and was familiarly known among his classmates, as Nothumb instead of Nathan, having some deficiency in one thumb. He was for some years Tutor in the College, and afterwards studied Medicine with Dr. E. A. Holyoke, of Salem. He then kept an Apothecary Shop, in Salem, and was known as Dr. Reed. He married Oct. 20, 1790, Elizabeth Jeffrey, of Salem, whose father, William, was Clerk of the Courts, of Essex County. He was the inventor of a patent for the manufacture of nails, which originated the building of the Danvers Iron Works, so called. He was also the *actual* inventor of the first Steamboat with paddle wheels in American waters. The trial trip of this boat which took place in 1789, was from Danvers Iron Works to Beverly. On board were the Governor of the Commonwealth, the Hon. Nathan Dane, Dr. E. A. Holyoke, Rev. Dr. Prince, and other distinguished men.

His country residence was near the Iron Works, in Danvers, the same that has lately been known as Capt. Porter's; his town dwelling was on the site where Plummer Hall now stands, and was removed to give place for the present building.*

He represented Essex South District in the Congress of the United States, in 1798–9. In 1807, he removed to Maine, and was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, for the State of Maine, till nearly the time of his death, which took place at Belfast, January 20, 1849, in his 90th year.

A more minute account of him is given by *J. W. Reed. Esq.*, of Groveland, Mass., in his HISTORY of the REEDS or READS, now in press. This work gives an account of the origin and definition of the name, the wars, conquests and migrations of the clans of Reed in the old world, and notices of every one of the name in the United States.

* This site was owned about a century since by Joseph Bowditch—he bequeathed it to his daughter Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffry, from whom it descended to her daughter, the wife of Nathan Reed, the subject of our notice. In 1799 it was sold to Capt. Joseph Peabody, and remained in the possession of that family until 1855, when it was conveyed to the Proprietors of the Salem Athenæum to erect thereon, PLUMMER HALL, from funds bequeathed by the late Miss Caroline Plummer, of Salem. The dwelling, thus removed, was built by Mr. Reed, in 1793.—Col. Perley Putnam, the present superintendent of streets, yet a hale and hearty octogenarian, worked on this building when an apprentice. The following letter from him may not be inappropriately inserted in this connection.

SALEM, Feb. 11, 1859.

Dear Sir,—In compliance with your request of last evening, in referenee to the time when Dr. Reed's (late Capt. Joseph Peabody's) house was built, I would inform you that the carpenters commenced working on the frame of said house early in the month of October, 1793. The house was framed in the garden back of where it was erected. The frame was raised, boarded, shingled, &c., before the old Bowditch house was demolished—which stood a little to the eastward of the centre of the lot, and projected out over the present line of the street, about half the width of the present sidewalk. When the house was first raised it had the appearance of being set up very high from the ground. But, at that time, that part of Essex street was quite low, and was soon after raised, graded, and paved, after which the house had a very different appearance, at the time it was removed. Samuel Mackintire was the Architect, and Joseph Mackintire and others were the carpenters, &c.

At the time said house was erected, there was not a tree or a shrub on the lot, with the exception of a few black currant bushes, which stood by the side of an old stone wall, which ran along on the south of Brown street, where the brick wall now stands.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

PERLEY PUTNAM.

DR. HENRY WHEATLAND.

THE "OLD PLANTERS" OF SALEM, WHO WERE SETTLED HERE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ENDICOTT, IN 1628.

BY GEORGE D. PHIPPEN.

Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, March 25, 1858.

Continued from Page 153.

PETER PALFRAY

Was among the first one hundred and sixteen men who took the freeman's oath at the first General Court for that purpose, May 18, 1631, as were several others also, of the first planters, viz: Mr. Roger Conant, John Woodbury, John Balch, Mr. William Jeffrey, and William Allen. May 9th, 1632, Palfray and Conant were the two persons chosen for Salem, according to an order of General Court, to confer with the Governor and Assistants, about raising a public stock.

On the 7th of November, of the same year, he was appointed with Messrs. Turner and Conant a Committee of the General Court, to set off a tract of land to John Humphrey, the Deputy Governor, in Saugus. He was often on the land Committee, and Board of Selectmen in Salem.

In 1635, was a Deputy at the second General Court; this year he received his grant of two hundred acres at the head of Bass River. It is supposed by some that he never lived upon this farm, which we regard as uncertain.*

He removed to Reading about 1652. At town meeting there, March 1, of that year, he was chosen one of the Prudential Committee of five. "The power that the Towne doth give to the five men before mentioned is to order all the prudential affairs of the town excepting giving of land and timber." He was often afterward chosen upon this and other Committees at Reading. At town meeting, Feb 7, 1658, "There was given to Peter Palfray, three acres of meadow in the Long Hedge of meadow, that lyeth by Rockey Meadow." On the 14th of the same month, the upland at the north side of Ipswich River, was divided by lot among the inhabitants; to Peter Palfray fell, one hundred and seventy acres and forty-three poles. This land was located in what is now North Reading, not far from the present Baptist meeting-house; the meadows that bordered the River in front of this land, were formerly very valuable, but were much injured in later years by the damming of the river in the construction of mills.

On the 31st of 1st mo., 1653, Palfray sold to Francis Skerry, husbandman of Salem, two acres of marsh, lying near the ferry, in said town, and abutting upon the garden of John Luff, this no doubt was his original allotment at his first settlement with Conant in 1626. Balch owned the adjoining land northward, along the river and nearer the ferry.

In December, 1653, "Peter Palfray, planter, late of Salem," sold half an acre of land between John Horn and Capt. Hathorne, over against Mr. Downing's house.

On the 28th of 7th month, 1644, George Hawkins, of Boston, by power of attorney from George Richisson sold William Dodge, for £40, his farm of two hundred acres near the head of Bass River, late the possession of Peter Palfray. After an active and well spent life, he died at Reading, September 15, 1663. His will was dated Oct. 21, of the previous year, and commences with these words: "Whereas I, Peter Palfray have taken into consideration the *brittleness* of my life, especially being *ffarr stricken in years*," *&c.*

It is recorded in the Middlesex Probate Records, book 2, folio 181, and has codicils dated 19 May, 1663. He had three wives. His second wife, Elizabeth, was widow of John Fairfield, of Wenham, who died in 1646. His third wife, Alice, is mentioned in his will.

Mr. Palfray and his first wife were among

* The following extract from the Court Records, evinces that our ancestors were not exempt from a certain class of social troubles. At the Quarter Court held at Salem, 27 of 4, 1637. Endicott, Conant and Hathorne, presiding magistrates.

"Jane Wheat servant unto Peter Palfray had not only wronged her neighbours in killing their poultrie, but being convict of lying loytering and running away from her master, was whipped."

the original members of the First Church, where his children were baptized, viz :

Jonathan and Jehodan baptized 25th of 10th month, 1636. Jehodan married Benj. Smith, March 27, 1661. She died Nov, 5, 1662.

Remember, baptized 16th of 7th month, 1638, married Peter Aspinwall, of Muddy River, 12th of Feb. 1661, by John Endicott, Governor.

Mary, baptized 15th of 10th month, 1639, called his youngest child in June, 1662. One of his daughters married Samuel Pickman, another Matthew Johnson. No son is mentioned in his will, some have supposed he had a son older than the children whose baptisms are recorded, and who may have been in circumstances not to need further assistance from their father. His estate, consisting of land and meadow beyond the river. &c., was valued at eighty-four pounds, ten shillings. In consequence of the want of any thing definite about the continuance of his son or sons, it has thus far been impossible for the present Palfrays to trace their line farther back than to the three following men, supposed grandsons of Peter.

All that is wanted is to find a common father to Walter, of Salem, William of Boston, and John of Cambridge, probably sons of Jonathan or some other son of Peter, of which however no proof remains. These three men had each considerable families, and their descendants appear to embrace all the Palfrays of New England.

Walter is the ancestor of the Salem family, still represented, and who have been known throughout the history of the town. William is the ancestor of the Hon. John G. Palfray, late member of Congress, and one of the historians of the country. Prominent men are found in all the branches. If the lost patriarch were found, a complete genealogy could easily be made from the primitive Peter to the present time.

This family in Salem is connected among others, with the primitive stock of the Mannings, Derbys, Graftons, Downings, Phippens, &c.*

WALTER KNIGHT

Was among the Episcopalians at Nantasket, in 1622, and removed with Conant to Cape Anne, in 1624; he was thirty-nine years of age, when in 1626 he followed Conant to Naumkeag ; was probably a carpenter, and employed by the Dorchester Merchants to assist in the construction of buildings for the New Colony. Richard Brackenbury in his extremely valuable document,† testified in 1680, that when he arrived at Salem, with Gov. Endicott, in 1628, he found Walter Knight there, and that Norman, Allen and Knight, stated that they came over for the Dorchester Merchants, and had built sundry houses at Salem, and that Walter Knight and the rest said that they had also built a house at Cape Anne, "and soe I was sent with them to Cape Anne, to pull down the said house for Mr. Endicott's use, the which wee did." It was erected immediately in Salem, where under many alterations it is supposed to be standing at the present day ‡

Brackenbury also mentions Woodbury, Conant, Palfray, Balch and others, in another

* *References.* — Hubbard, Prince, Felt, Rantoul, Young, Rec, of Mass., Probate and Deeds Rec., Court and Church Rec., Town Rec. of Salem and Reading.

†Presented from another source, on page 156.

‡Allusion to Gov. Endicott's house has been before made with some confidence, on pages 102 and 4, and from another source on page 156, and the opinion has long prevailed that it was situated on the corner of Church and Washington streets, and this statement has occasionally appeared in print. Since the appearance of the last number of these Collections, however, extensive examination of the Essex Registry of Deeds, in relation to this estate has been made, with the disappointment, of not largely corroborating, at the same time not directly conflicting with this view. Zerubabel Endicott, son of the Governor, sold the land on which this house stands to Daniel Eppes, in 1681, and the region thereabouts was long known as Endicott's field. See memoir of Gov. Endicott, by C. M. Endicott, page 20 and note.

paragraph, and from the manner in which he speaks of the men found at Salem, classifying them as it were in two different sentences, w infer, that the relation of these two classe were essentially different. The one appearing like men who possessed a prime interest in the undertaking, while the others were without doubt men who were sent over in a sub servient capacity. and there are other indications that the latter were men of less education and refinement. Norman and Allen were carpenters, and the others in the same paragraph were of occupations indispensable to a new settlement.

The adoption of this view, we think, accounts conclusively for the omission of one set of these names in the large grant of one thousand acres of land at Bass River. We intend however, under another head, to show that reasonable proof remains that they, the other party, did collectively receive a similar grant as "old planters," though in a far less quantity.

The name of Walter Knight is not found among the members of the First Church, and he may have maintained his high church opposition throughout his residence in Salem.

In 1640 and '42, he had some small causes at the Quarter Court, in Salem. In the former year he received £3 as plaintiff against Richard Cook. 2d of 1st month, 1640, he was fined £10 at the Quarter Court in Boston, for rude and contemptuous speeches ; and for security made over a bill of £11. In 1653, at the age of sixty-six, he was living in Boston, when he deposed that Thomas Gray had received Nantasket by the year 1622, from Chikataubut, Sagamore of the Massachusetts Indians.*

This is all we have learned of Knight or his family. Information is doubtless accessible among the Records of Suffolk County.

Cotemporary with him the next ten years after the settlement, were William and Ezekiel Knight, at Salem ; William died about 1655, leaving wife Elizabeth and four children. George at Hingham, John at Watertown, John at Newbury, Richard at Weymouth, William, minister at Topsfield, and perhaps others, who are not likely all to have been of one family. The name is common throughout the country.*

WILLIAM ALLEN

And his wife Elizabeth, were among the original members of the First Church ; her maiden name we think was Bradley, as John Bradley was called Allen's brother in law, in 1642. He was admitted a freeman among the first, May 18, 1631. He had a grant of fifty acres of land on 20 of 12, 1636, at which time John Woodbury had a warrant to lay it out. On 23d of 2d, 1638, one acre of Salt Marsh was granted him adjoining his lot—probably at the Old Planter's Marsh. On the 25th of 11th month, 1642, William Allen and Robert Allen were granted ten acres apiece at the Great Pond, (Wenham Lake.) William Allen was by trade a carpenter; in 1637 he and Samuel Archer were to build the powder house, and were allowed two months to finish it in. He removed to Manchester, where many generations of the name have lived. It appears that on the 13th of May, 1640, he, with sixteen others of Salem, among whom were Robert Allen and John Norman, petitioned General Court for liberty to remove to Jeffry's Creek, (Manchester,) and erect a village there. He may not have removed immediately for it was not until ten years later, that he sold his homestead in Salem, viz: On the 9th of 4th month, 1650, he sold his late dwelling house and one half acre of land adjoining, in Salem, and six acres in the south field, to John Bridgman, of said place. On the 20th of April, 1659, he sold Samuel Gardner, a quantity of land lying near the meeting house, between Philip Cromwell's and Richard Stillman's land.† Like most of the old planters,

* *References.*—Felt's Salem Mass. Rec., Court Files Gen. Reg. vol. 1, page 38, Reg. Deeds, Town Rec. &c.

†The following is subjoined for future elucidation as to locality. At Court at Boston, July 3, 1632, Rev. Mr. Skelton, among other lands was granted "ten acres on a Neck of land abutting on the South

he lived to be aged, dying in 1678 or '9, In 1664, then an old man, he deposed that it had been a resolve of the inhabitants of Salem, that when land was granted on the rivers that skirt the town, a reservation should be made for a passage between the top of the banks and the water side, and such were undoubtedly among the most primitive of our highways.

His children, baptized at the First Church, were

Deborah, baptized 23d of 2d month, 1637.
Bethiah, " 16th of 11th month, 1639.
Onisiphorus, " 3d of 5th month, 1642.
William, " 31st of 3d month, 1646.
Jonathan, " 29th of 5th month, 1649.

His son Samuel, probably older than either, we do not find mentioned among the baptisms.

His will is recorded on the 72d folio of the first book of Essex Probate Records, dated 7th June, 1678, proved 26th of 4th month, 1679, wherein he styles himself "William Allen, sen, of Manchester," makes his wife Elizabeth full and sole executrix of his property, to be disposed of after her death ; part of which is as follows, "to Samuel, the remainder of the twenty five acre lot of upland, and the share of the fresh meadow; to 2d son Onisiphorus, and son William Allen, my whole fifty acre lot, and an acre of saltmarsh at lower end of my orchard." It is remarked that both these sons had houses of their own, and were to have lands adjoining them. In the inventory presented, which amounted to £186, 10s, among other lands and effects, are mentioned fifteen acres of upland lying on the bounds of Beverly, joining to Wenham Great Pond, also two oxen, one cow, two heifers, two sheep, and a horse.

Robert Allen, probably William's brother, was granted on the 4th of 12th month, 1638, twenty-five acres of land at Jeffrey Creek; his children were born in 1640 and odd. From these men have descended those bearing the name in Salem, Manchester and vicinity.*

River, upon the Harbour River on the North, upon William Allen's ground on the East, and upon Mrs. Higginson's ground on the west." *Query.*—Where was William Allen's land, and was Harbour River the North River, the land being bounded on the south by the South River ?

THOMAS GRAY.

A very early settler, purchased Nantasket of the Indian Sachem Chikatanbut, as early as 1622, where he was living with John Gray and Walter Knight, and to his succor and hospitality the persecuted Episcopalians of Plymouth fled, and very naturally therefore he would accompany Conant to Cape Anne and Naumkeag, when the prospects were so flattering of the permanent establishment of Episcopacy.

Thomas Gray, supposed to be the same person, was located in Marbleharbor, [Marblehead,] then a part of Salem, as early as 1631; his name is met with as of that place till 1660 or later. The records of the Quarter Court at Salem, and the Court of Assistants at Boston, during that period, do not furnish any other point worthy of interest relating to him. He lived to be aged, and should have been venerable,

Another Thomas Gray was living at Plymouth in 1643, and died there Nov. 29, 1682.

Robert Gray, who was born about 1634, lived in Salem, and had children born there in 1656 to '66. He was fined in 1669, for attending Quaker meeting ; his will was made in 1662 ; left Elizabeth, Joseph, Robert, Bethiah, Hannah and Mary. The name Robert continues to be very common in this family afterward. There were cotemporary families very early in the county, and probably of different origins †

JOHN TILLEY.

At the commencement of the Cape Anne settlement, John Tilley was appointed Overseer of the Fishing interest, while the planting

* *References.*—Mass. Rec., Town and Church Rec., Reg. of Deeds and Probate.

†*References.*—Felt's Annals, Drake's Boston, Rec Qr. Court, Rec. of Mass. Gen. Reg., 2. 235.

department was placed in charge of Thomas Gardner.

It is generally accepted that Tilley followed Conant to Naumkeag in 1626. He took the freeman's oath March 4, 1634. He was a mariner by occupation, and identified with the fishing and commercial trading of Massachusetts till his death in 1636. His name is associated in Colonial affairs with such persons as William Peirce and Thomas Beecher, noted shipmasters* of that day; his career subsequent to the failure of fishing operations at Cape Anne, related, more particularly, to the South side of the Bay, and trade with the neighboring Colonies.

In the year 1634 he became involved in moneyed difficulties with his partners in trade, and General Court, on the 1st April of that year, appointed assignees over his property till his "debts be satisfied that he owed in ye Bay," At the Court of Assistants, held on the 1st of July following, his affairs were adjusted by mutual consent of the different parties, in the appointment of referees, viz.: "John Winthrop, sen., Esq., Mr. Wm. Peirce, Mr. Thomas Beecher and Mr. Stagg."

The difficulties, thus settled, had occurred with Mr. Marryner's Company, Mr. Henry Coggin and Mr. John Coggin, for moneys paid the ship's company, and other matters. Sept. 2, 1635, Tilley was appointed by General Court upon a committee with Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. Beecher, Mr. Waltham, Mr. Duncom. and Mr. Peirce, with "power to consulte, advise and take order for the setting forward and after manageing of the fisheing trade and vpon their accompt all charges of dyett, or other wayes att the tymes of their meeteing to be allowed out of the fishing stocke."

In the year 1636 Tilley was on a trading voyage as master of a bark and while coming down the Connecticut River, notwithstanding the caution he received from Capt. Gardner, at Saybrook, to be on his guard against surprise of the Indians, he trusted to his own sagacity, and disdained the well intentioned advice, and very imprudently left his vessel, in a small canoe, with one assistant, on a fowling excursion along the banks of the river. He landed about three miles from the fort, and was stealthily watched by the Indians in ambush, until he had discharged his gun, when a large number of the savages arose from their covert an took him prisoner without chance of resistance, and at the same time killed the man left in charge of the boat. His inhuman captors tortured him by first cutting off his hands, and a while after, his feet also; notwithstanding which, it is said, he survived for three days, and won the admiration of the Indians by the manner in which, he endured their cruel tortures. He is represented by Winthrop* as a "very stout† man, and of great understanding."

This dreadful event was one among many similar aggravating experiences that our ancestors endured, in rapid succession, from the natives, and which led to the swift destruction and almost annihilation of the powerful Pequod tribe; in which war another of the Old Planters, who commanded the Essex men, Capt. Trask, of Salem, signalized himself and won the gratitude of his country.

We have learned nothing of Tilley's descendants, if any he had. A few years after his death we find a family of that name living at Plymouth and neighborhood, viz.: Thomas and William, in 1643, and John, in 1653. Others, and probably of the same family stock, were Hugh Tilley, who came to Salem in the fleet, as

* Peirce was master of the ship Lyon, and Beecher of the Talbot, in the fleet of 1630.

* Drake, in his History of Boston, expresses some doubts as to the identity of John Tilley, mentioned by Winthrop and the Mass. Records, with John Tilley of the Cape Ann Colony, but the fact of Tilley's prominency in the trading and fishing interest of Massachusetts throughout his active life, evincing peculiar qualifications for the superintendency of the Cape Anne fisheries, convinces us that these events, occupying in time but a few years, all relate to one and the same individual.

† Courageous.

a servant to Sir Richard Saltonstall, another John Tilley, and also Edward Tilley, with their wives and families formed part of the 101 Pilgrims who came in the Mayflower to Plymouth, in 1620, but they and their wives, with three other members of their families, died the first winter.*

THOMAS GARDNER,

Overseer of the planting interest at Cape Anne, at its beginning, was, according to Farmer, a native of Scotland. Farmer, Young, and Felt agree that he followed Conant to Salem; he was one of the original members of the first church here, was admitted freeman May 17, 1637, and was the same year member of General Court.

The following grants of land show him to have been a man who had prominent claims among his fellow Colonists. The title of *Mr.* then of no mean import, generally precedes his name in the Records.

On 20 of 12, 1636, he had a grant of 100 acres. On 24, 12, 1637, Mr. Gardner is granted an addition to his farm, not exceeding twenty acres. On 17, 2, 1639, Granted a bank of upland near his marsh, at Strong Water Brook. In 1642 3-4 of an acre near the Rayles.† In 1643, a parcel of land to set a house upon, near the old mill. In 1649, a small piece of meadow next his farm. Thomas Gardner and George Gardner, brothers, were granted land on 9 of 8, 1637, who were probably sons of Thomas. In 1647, Thomas Gardner, George Gardner, and Hilliard Veren were to have four acres of meadow each. In 1654, George Gardner was to have six acres of upland at his ten acre lot He took the freeman's oath in 1642. He is called Sargent George, and was lieutenant in 1664, under Capt. Walter Price. He married Eliza ——. She was a Quakeress, and in 1658 was indicted "for adherence to the cursed sect of the Quakers." Their children were Samuel, born May 14, 1648. Bethia ———, born 1654. Hittabell, Ebenezer, born 1657, and George. He died about 1679, leaving a large family. See record of his will, Essex Probate Records, Book 1, 73. Nov. 9.1659, John Gardner and Samuel Gardner, with Walter Price and Henry Bartholomew, had permission to erect a corn-mill on South River.

This Samuel Gardner was deputy to General Court in 1681–2 and 5. Samuel Gardner, sen. in his will dated 2 Oct. 1689, gave his "sone Jonathan my fishing ketch, and her appurtenances, and my flakes and housing and wth else I have at Winter Island."

Another Samuel Gardner was deputy to General Court many years, for most of the time from 1694 to 1710.

Thomas Gardner, supposed the son of Thomas the first, was a member of the First Church; 1639, freeman 1641. On the 18 of 5 mo 1637, he had a grant from the Town of a five-acre lot, "as a great lot." He died in the latter part of 1674. He had two wives, 1st Margeret Frier, 2d Damaris Shattock; the latter united with the Quakers, and was often fined for her heresy. He had a large family, eleven children, viz.: Seeth,* baptized 25 of 10, 1636, married John Grafton 1 of 10, 1659; Sarah, Elizabeth, Bethiah, Thomas, George, John, Samuel, Joseph, Richard, Merriam. Here are six sons and five daughters, with a fair chance for posterity. His will, dated 7, 10 mo 1668, proved 29 March, 1675; to his wife Damaris he gave up all the estate she brought him, also £8 in money, &c. To his dau. Sarah Balch, £15, dau.,—Seeth Grafton, £15, to dau. Merriam Hills—to two daus. Merriam and Susan £5 each, at 18, or marriage; to his sons George and John, salt meadow west of Capt. George Corwin's meadow, to his sons Samuel and Joseph, salt meadow east of Corwin's. His housing the rest of the lands, goods and estate to be divided in seven equal parts; be-

* *References*—Hubbard 106; Savage's Winthrop 1, 200; Mass. Records; Drake's Boston; &c.

‡ In Beverly, near Wenham.

* A daughter—origin of the name to be given in a future number.

tween his six sons, Thomas, George, Richard, John, Samuel and Joseph. Thomas, the eldest, to have two shares. George and Sam, executors. Mr. Joseph Grafton and Deacon Horne, overseers. Robert Pease and Samuel Goldthrite, witnesses. Inventory dated 4 of 11, 1674, val £274 16 s., in which were dw lling house and ten acres of land, with orchard, &c 10 acres in ye Northfield, 100 acres of upland and meadow, 20 acres "lying in ye woods," and about 2 1-4 acres of salt marsh "lying about ye mill," household stuff, &c.

Geggle's Island, in the South River, was granted to one Thomas Gardner in 1680. On the division of the Salem Military Company into two separate Companies, in 1674, Joseph Gardner took command of one, and John Curwin of the other.

In 1685, Ebenezer, son of George, left £50 to poor honest people of Salem, and in 1721, John Gardner left one-tenth of his estate for a like purpose.

This surname has been known and respected throughout the entire history of Salem, and descendants are still numerous in this the primitive abode of their ancestors.*

RICHARD NORMAN

is mentioned in Brackenbury's deposition as among those he found living at Naumkeag when he arrived in 1628, in these words, "old Goodman Norman and his sonn." Most of the old planters were young or middle-aged men; Norman was probably older than any of them. This deposition was taken fifty years afterward, and when old Norman was probably dead, and Brackenbury himself an old man; he was describing matters as they struck him on his arrival. We have other evidence that Richard Norman was called "Old Norman," viz.: in 1649, John Gedney sold Thomas Spooner a parcel of land which was given "Old Norman."

Richard Norman and John Norman had each a grant of twenty acres of land on 8 of 9 mo 1637. These persons are the same referred to in the quaint line, "Old Goodman Norman and his sonn." Felt, Drake, Thornton and all other writers describe them, as we think, erroneously as Richard and Richard, Jr. John Norman, in 1628, was about 15 years old, at which time his brother Richard was but three. John removed to Jeffry Creek.* The old gentleman and his younger son, Richard, removed to Marblehead where they were both living in 1650 and '53. Richard Norman, sen was presented at the Quarter Court at Salem 17 of 7 mo, 1650, "for defective fences on Darbyfort side," [Marblehead.] We do not know when he died.

JOHN NORMAN,

son of Richard, the "Old Goodman" had a grant of land at Jeffry Creek, 8 of 9 mo, 1637, and with sixteen others petitioned General Court 14 of 3d mo, 1640, to remove there and erect a village.

At the Quarter Court held at Salem, 3d of 8 mo, 1637, the Jury found for Richard Inkersoll, plaintiff, against John Norman, 40 shillings, in money, and 30 shillings in mackerell. He had removed to Jeffry Creek as early as 1640; in 1650 he petitioned for liberty to keep a house of entertainment there.

He probably lacked some of the graces of the man of Uz, for he was once presented at Court "for striking Nath'l Masterson with the help of an ax to ye breach of ye peace."

His wife, Arabella, was admitted to the First Church in 1637. Her children baptized there and also recorded in the Town Records, are John, born in 1637, Lydia, Hannah or Anna, Arabella and Richard. Her daughter Arabella married John Balden in September, 1664, by Major Dennison, and had Hannah and John.*

In Thomas Williams' will, dated 2 mo 1646,

* *References*—Hubbard, Felt, Young. Rec. of Mass. Probate Rec., City Rec., &c.

* See Essex His. Coll. 1, 35.

* In 1645, Jeffrie's Creek, by order of Genera Court, to be called Manchester.

John Norman is called of Jeffry Creek, but in the inventory presented the following month, he is styled of Marblehead. He was residing at the latter place in 1648. He died aged about 60, in 1672. The leader of the Jeffry Creek settlement was Rev. William Walton, of Marblehead, who expected to remove there, but continued to reside at Marblehead.

The inventory of the estate of John Norman, taken 23 of 9 mo 1672, amounted to £125, and consisted of house, upland and meadow, three cows, two yearling steers, two calves, and four small swine, household stuff, tools, &c. John's son John was a member of the Salem Troop in 1678, perhaps the same individual, in 1667, who had recently "received greate loss at sea being taken by the Dutch," as were sundry Salem vessels about that time. John administered on his mother Arabella's estate in 1680.

Arabella Norman survived her husband seven years; the Inventory of property "she died possessed of 23 Nov. 1679," as administratrix of the estate of her husband, John Norman, taken 29 of 4 mo 1680, is recorded in Essex Probate Records, 1. 84, amounting to £150, 16s.: consisting of house, barn and orchard, ten acres of upland upon the neck, and two acres of salt marsh, one acre of saltmarsh at Kettle Cove, &c. Among the items is this remarkable statement: "The remaining part of 400 acres of land granted by the town of Salem to 8 men, his part appraised £50." Query, What eight men, and why this four hundred acres? Have we not here the counterpart to the 1000 acres at Bass River, which was granted to five of the most prominent among the old planters, viz.: to Conant, Woodbury, Trask, Palfry and Balch, or two hundred acres apiece,—that is, four hundred acres, or fifty acres apiece to eight other of the old planters, one of whom was John Norman? Though we find no other record of this grant, is not this conclusion almost irresistible? These eight men, with approximate accuracy can be found in list of names given on page 104.

RICHARD NORMAN, Jr,

son of Richard, and brother of John, was born in 1623, as we learn he was forty-nine years of age in 1672; he was residing with his old father, in Marblehead, in 1653. William Norman, supposed another brother, also lived there in 1648, and probably the same of the name who afterward settled at Manchester. It was both easy and natural for the Marblehead people to cross over the water from that place to Manchester in their shallops and fishing craft.

The Normans were leaders in the Jeffry Creek settlement. Richard Norman, however, remained in Marblehead, where he appears to have been a man of enterprise and consequence in his day,—possessed considerable property, was a lieutenant in the military company, and reared a large family: his wife's name was Margaret, and their children, six sons and two daughters, viz.: Rebecca, Richard, William, John, Elizabeth, Joseph, Benjamin, and Jonathan. He died in 1682. Moses Maverick and James Dennis appraised his estate Nov. 20, 1682, amount to £400. Among the items are, One acre lot at the Ferry, a lot in Mr. Humphry's farm, one acre of salt marsh at Salem, a tract of land at Dunstable, dwelling-house and orchard at Marblehead, furniture in the hall, in the old kitchen, in the new kitchen, in the great chamber, in the new chamber, in the old kitchen chamber, in the cellar, half hhd. of Claret and one bbl of Rum, in the yard two cows, two heifers, one bull, horse, mare and colt, sheep, swine, stage flakes, and yard, half a shallop, &c. His widow, Margaret, and Lieut. John Pickering administered upon his estate. His son, Richard, died at sea about 1682, leaving what little property he possessed to his cousin, Hannah Balden. In 1690 his sons, William and John, were charged with sundry goods delivered them from their father's estate by their mother, Margaret Norman, and Lieut. Pickering. His son Joseph married Mary ———, and died on 18 Nov. 1691.

On the westerly side of Gloucester harbor, not far from the present eastern bound of Manchester, the early home of the Normans, a long, rocky reef, bare at low water, stretches out from the shore, terminated seawardly, by a large rock, designated from distant times, as Norman's Woe; here, as the name implies, shipwreck and disaster befel some individual of the family whose name it bears; this is all that can now be learned about it; neither record nor tradition throws any light upon this untold calamity,—faded out from the memory of man: the sea shall perpetually surge over the place of Norman's doom, and moan in ceaseless murmurings, and the winds howl around it his dismal requiem forever, and forever fail to communicate the sad story of its despairing victim and of the anguish wrung from family and friends. "Norman's Woe" —intensely expressive in its doleful brevity,— a name never uttered by the passing mariner, without vibrating a chord in his large and sympathetic heart.

Another locality, Norman's Rocks, a crag on the western border of Salem, and Norman street, also in Salem, commemorate the name of a family long extinct here, and as far as our knowledge goes, in the vicinity also. The Boston Directory was printed in 1789 by one John Norman. We are unable to say where descendants, if any, of the family now reside. Mention of the name is occasionally seen different parts of the country.

Capt. WILLIAM TRASK

was, without doubt, settled in Naumkeag before the arrival of Endicott. He was born about 1587, consequently forty years of age when he came to New England. Mr. Hubbard, who was settled as minister at Ipswich several years before Mr. Trask's death, and who, no doubt, knew him, says expressly that Endicott's party "added to Captain Trask and John Woodbury, &c., they went on comfortably together to make preparation for the new Colony that were coming over."

How long he was here previous to the arrival of the Abigail is not known; certain it is that he was granted one of the five farms of 200 acres each, to the old planters, [making 1000 acres,] at Bass River, in 1635, which seems to settle the matter beyond controversy. He is among the original members of the first church, and was on the first list (Oct. 19, 1630.) of those who petitioned General Court to be made freemen, and took his oath in May following. Nov. 7, 1632, Capt. Trask and Mr. Conant, appointed, with others, by General Court, to set the bounds between Dorchester and Roxbury. In 1635, he with Conant, Woodbury, Balch and Massey, were appointed overseers of land, and associated with Mr. Humphry, Mr. Endicott and Capt. Turner to set the bounds of Newbury Patent, and Mr. Dumer's farm of 500 acres, near the falls of Newbury; and in 1637 he was on a committee to lay out Mr Humphry's farm. In 1635 and the four following years, he was a deputy from Salem to the Great and General Court. He had several grants of land from the town beside his farm of 200 acres. At one time 100 acres, and on 9 of 8, 1637, he is allowed five acres of meadow next Mr. Johnson's farm. In 1636 he erected a water-mill for grinding corn, on the North River, at a place above what are now called Frye's Mills; before this time most of the corn used was pounded in Querns.* On 30 of 1, 1640, he had leave to set up a tide-mill upon the North River; provided he made a sufficient passage for a shallop from half tide to full sea; it thus appears to have been the original policy of the Town to keep the water courses free from obstruction. He also set up a fulling-mill not far from his corn-mill, about the same time. When, about 1636, it was proposed to build the college here, Mr. Trask gave up his farm to Thomas Scruggs, who possessed land at the designated place beyond Forest River, on what is now a beautiful

* A kind of stone pestle and mortar, for private use, a few specimens of which, are still preserved in the old families.

lain at the Marblehead farms, thus leaving the lot unencumbered.

In 1648 General Court granted Capt. Trask 250 acres of land. The same year he exchanged 250 acres of land with Gov. Endicott for 500 apple trees of three years' growth being two trees for an acre of land, then no doubt an equitable bargain. Again, 1656, he exchanged 100 acres of land, near Spring Pond, for a cow which was valued at £5. He lived in Salem village, or what is now South Danvers, and during the litigations of the Mason claim his estate was forced to pay 15 shillings rent in acknowledgment of said claim. He was an energetic man, a brave soldier, and reliable in case of an emergency. He was one of the first, if not the first military commander in Massachusetts; we can safely say of him as has been said of Capt. Mason,—what Captain Standish was to the Plymouth Colony, and Captain Mason to Connecticut, Captain Trask was to the Massachusetts Colony.

In 1634 he was on a committee of seven to superintend the fortifications. We notice he was Captain this year, as he no doubt was from the beginning of the first Massachusetts trained band; the few military commanders were ordered to train their bands once every month. He was once sent (1635) by General Court after some rogues who had stolen a boat and other things, and fled to the eastward. Capt. Trask overtook them at Piscataqua, brought them back to Boston, where they paid penalty for their villainy in both fines and stripes. Captain Trask figures most conspicuously as a Captain in the famous Pequod war.

This powerful tribe of Indians, in the wilds of the Connecticut, became very aggressive and insolent; they destroyed several parties of traders and others, among whom were two noted traders, John Oldham and John Tilley. The Colonies were threatened with extermination by the Pequods and confederate tribes, and the country became effectually aroused. On 7 Dec, 1636, General Court selected officers for service in the various towns, to organize their bands for defence against surprise by the Indians. The militia of the Jurisdiction were divided into three regiments; the East Regiment was placed under command of John Endecott, Coll., John Winthrop, Jr., lieut. coll., and Capt. Trask, muster master. At the organization of the Salem company, a few weeks after, Mr. William Trask was appointed captain, Richard Davenport,* lieutenant, and Thomas Reade, ensign.

For this campaign, in 1637, Massachusetts raised 160 men, twenty-four of whom were from Salem. They were under commander-in chief, Captain Stoughton.

The wonderful success of this expedition resulted in the overthrow, and almost the annihilation of this formidable tribe.

June 6, 1639. General Court granted 6000 acres of land to nineteen meritorious individuals, not all soldiers, among whom were Capt. Trask, who had 200 acres of land "in regard of much service," and Lieut. Davenport 150 acres. Captain Trask retained command of the company in Salem, till October, 1645, when he received his discharge from General Court "with all due acknowledgment of his faithfulness and former good service to the country," and Wm. Hathorne was appointed his successor, as it was thought Capt Trask resided at too great a distance to be of service in case of sudden attack from the seaboard, by foreign enemies; at the same time Wm. Clarke was appointed lieutenant, and Wm. Dixie, ensign.

Oct. 19, 1658. At a Court of Assistants, he was granted 400 acres of land in the Pequod country, and in 1661, when far advanced in life, (74th year,) he presented a petition, to General Court, written by himself in a bold and still beautiful hand, rarely equalled by one who had passed the bounds of threescore and ten years. It is still preserved among the

* Lieut. Davenport was Ensign bearer when Governor Endicott cut the cross from the King's colors; he was afterwards Captain of the Castle in Boston Harbor where he was killed by lightning July 15, 1665, aged 59.

State archives. It is short and reads thus:

"To the Honorable General Court now assembled at Boston:

The humble petition of Wm. Trask, off Salem, and some others who served under him in the expedition against the Pequots, Humbly showeth,

Whereas yr petitionrs understand that several gentlemen have lands granted and laid out at the Pequots County that was, and others are likely to put in for more, who it may bee never swet so much for it, as some off us bled on it, and for your service—

These therefore humbly pray the Court to consider of it, and in your wisdom to appoint such a portion of land and some meet men to lay it out as in your goodness shall think meet; and your petitionrs shall ever remain

Your ever obliged W. Traske for himself
and other souldiers under him.

Consented to by the Magistrates.
Ri. Bellingham, Dept Govr.

In answer to this petition ye Deputies think meet to grant Capt. Traske 400 acres of land in the place desired, with reference to the consent of our honored Magistrates hereunto.

Wm Torrey, Cleric."

Mr. Trask lived to the ripe age of 77 years. What an eventful period was the latter half of his life, and how much did he witness of results that his valor, industry and self-sacrifice helped, in a great measure, to produce.

He died May 16, 1666, and by order of the town was buried with military honors. His will was made only the day previous to his death, when the valiant Captain surrendered, and was but just able to sign the letter (W.) against the name of Wm. Trask Sen'r.

He left a wife, Sarah, and children, Mary, Susan, William, John and Sarah. The baptisms of his children are found in the 1st church records, viz:

Mary,	baptized	1,	11,	1636.
Susanna,	"	—,	10,	1638.
William,	"	19,	7,	1640.
John,	"	13,	7,	1642.
Eliza,	"	21,	7,	1645.

In his will he speaks of his dwelling-house and orchard. To William he gave "all the meadow that lyeth between the upper and the lower mill, and all the upper mill-pond." The location of his mill, dwelling-house, &c., can now be traced.

"The house in which he died, in 1666, was according to tradition, about 200 feet in the rear of the present one, built by his son William, probably about 1680, which has been the birth-place of his descendants for five generations. The well dug by the old pioneer two centuries ago, still remains, the water of which is in constant use. The original grist mill erected by him in 1636 was situated on the river back of his dwelling-house; and it is said that remnants of the dam are now visible, when the water in the pond is drawn off" Edward Trask, probably a grandson, was one of Capt. Lathrop's seventy men slain at Bloody Brook, Sept. 18, 1675.

The descendants of Capt. Trask are still living in Salem, Danvers, and vicinity. One of them, Wm. B. Trask, Esq., of Dorchester, to whom I am much indebted, is collecting material for a memoir of the Captain and genealogy of his descendants.*

WILLIAM JEFFRY,

or Jeffries, was settled in this neighborhood before the arrival of Gov. Endicott. It is not known when he came over. He probably lived some time at Jeffry Creek (now Manchester) which bore his name, and which lies between the two settlements of Cape Anne and Naumkeag.

He was called William Jeffries, Gentleman, in the Company's first letter of instructions, 21st April, 1629, and generally had the then comparatively rare title of *Mr.* prefixed to his name. He was an Episcopalian. It is supposed that Jeffry and Blackstone, of Boston, belonged to Robert Gorges' party, who settled at

* *References*—Essex Reg. 1852, 370, and 10 101, 1857, 257; Mass. Hist. Coll., 25, 109; Hubbard Farmer, Prince, Felt, Young, Town Rec., Church Rec., Mass. Rec., &c.

Wessagassett in September, 1623. They acted as the agents of John Gorges, who succeeded to his brother's patent, and were empowered by him to put John Oldham in possession of his afterward contested territory. Jeffry was admitted freeman among the first, May 18, 1631 There was a Sargent Jeffries in the Pequod war, in 1637, honorably mentioned by Capt. Mason, in his narrative, and also in Winthrop's letter to the Governor in connection with Ensign Davenport, who belonged to the Salem company, as we think Jeffry did also.

In 1638 Wm. Jeffry removed to the neighborhood of the Rhode Island plantations, and in 1641 and 2 was among the proprietors of Weymouth, where he was commissioned to join parties in marriage. On 16 Oct 1660, General Court granted him 500 acres of land "on the South side of our patent to be a final issue of all claims by virtue of any grant heretofore made by any Indian whatever."

This allusion to an Indian grant was on account of a claim of his to Jeffry's Neck, in Ipswich, on the plea of a purchase of the Indians, and having made his claims before the Court sufficiently clear, he received this grant in lieu therefor; this unsurveyed tract of land he sold to Wm. Hudson, who in 1665, petitioned General Court that Lieut. Joshua Fisher and company might be appointed to lay it out, who were accordingly directed so to do, provided it encroached not upon any other former grant.

Jeffry is thought also to have had possessions at an early date, at the Isle of Shoals, probably nothing more, however, than the erection of fish flakes there.

It has been supposed that he was an old acquaintance and intimate friend of the notorious and troublesome Morton, of Merry Mount, who in a letter to Jeffry, dated May, 1634, addresses him as "My very good gossip;" it is however, equally certain that six years before, Jeffry had contributed a sum towards defraying the expenses attendant upon the arrest and extradition of the same individual; this may have been compulsory or in the nature of taxation or assessment. Morton, as is well known, again returned to this country, to be a further irritation to the Massachusetts authorities.

The condition of the country in regard to roads after twenty years of occupancy may be learned by the following order at Town Meeting, 26, 8, 1646:—"That William Woodbury, Richard Brackenbury, Ensign Dixie, Mr Conant, Lieut. Lathrop and Lawrence Leach, shall forthwith lay out a way between the Ferry at Salem and the head of Jeffry's Creek, and that it be such a way as men may travel on horseback or drive cattle, and if such a way may not be found, then to take speedy course to set up a foot bridge at Mackerel Cove."

Of the descendants of Wm Jeffry, we have learned nothing, unless the following person be one of them:—"Edward Jeffries, who was drowned on the 25th day of May, 1683, as he was going from on board the ketch called the Adventure, Andrew Ellet, jr.. [Elliott.] being master, from Mackerel Cove to the Ferry place or thereabouts, on Beverly side." The inventory of his effects, valued £10 4 s. is recorded Essex Probate book 2: 23.

This surname is now extinct in Salem. The elderly portion of our community, however, remember a family of the name who formerly resided in Salem, as James Jeffry died in 1807, aged 74, and his brother John died in 1812 at about the same age; William, another brother, who died in 1772, is probably the same who taught the Grammar School in 1753 to 5. A sister, Margaret, married Stephen Cleveland, Oct. 28, 1772, late of Salem, whose posterity now reside among us. This family, consisting of six sons and two daughters, were the children of James Jeffry, who came from Portsmouth, N. H., to Salem, in 1722, at the age of 16 years. He was the son of James Jeffry, who was born March 10, 1676, in the Parish of St. Agnes, Cornwall, England, and who came to this country and

lived many years at Portsmouth. He was the son of Cyprian and Ann Jeffry.*

In the foregoing paper, which we have entitled *the Old Planters of Salem*, we have presented a few gleanings of the lives and doings of those whose names are known to us; but in drawing these remarks to a close, it is with some regret that we had not entitled it the *Old Planters of Massachusetts;* for the early history of Salem, is the history of the Colony, and of the Commonwealth for the time being, not one line of which can be spared from the history of our common country.

In our attempt at designating the spot on which they settled in Salem, we have followed Hubbard, Felt, Rantoul, and other writers, assisted by the accepted tradition, and have stated that upon the dispersion of the Cape Anne colonists, they settled upon the comparatively small peninsula lying between Naumkeag, now North River, and Shallop, or Collins' Cove,—there, no doubt, Conant and some of his followers built their first small and unsubstantial cottages. But when we consider that they were at peace with the few Indians, who frequented the neighborhood, whose lives had been spared from the distemper that had ten years before so nearly depopulated this region, we do not perceive the necessity of the first settlers hovering very closely together;—surrounded as they were by such a vast territory, waiting for occupancy and possession;—so many jutting capes and headlands, suitable for the fisheries;—so many sheltered coves and safe harbors, bordered on all sides by woods or other lands easily cleared and subdued for cultivation. These pioneers, foreseeing that the time would soon come when many other adventurers would claim a share in these unappropriated wilds, would very naturally select the best localities, and spread out their individual possessions over a larger number of acres than was compatible with the limited locality above mentioned, and consequently we believe if ever the requisite zeal be put forth among the first public grants or private conveyances of land for a more accurate localization of the first abodes of the Old Planters, it will be found that they embraced a much wider extent of surface, or were more separately and distantly located than is now generally supposed.

* *References*—Young's Chron. of Mass., 171; Winthrop's His.; Rec. of Mass.; Com. of H. W. S. Cleveland.

[Appendix to page 150.]

JOHN LYFORD.

The following additional facts, in relation to the family of the Rev. John Lyford, are derived from extracts taken from book 1, folio 27, of the Suffolk Deeds, kindly furnished by J. W. Dean, of Boston, from which we learn, with considerable confidence, that Mr Lyford had died, testate, previous to October, 1641, devising his property, consisting chiefly of tobacco, which may have been the currency in which the minister tax was collected in Virginia; and that his widow had married Edmund Hobart, of Hingham, and that two of his children, viz: Mordecai and Ruth, were then living at that place. As the extracts are short, and as so few facts remain to us relative to Lyford and his family, they are presented entire. Not many years after this we find Lyfords in Exeter, N. H. whither descendants had probably removed from Hingham:

"—— 4, 1642. Be it known vnto all men by these prsents, that I, Ruth Leyford of Hingham in the Bay of Massacusetts, in New England, have fully acquited and discharged Edmund Hubbert, senior, my Step Father, of a legacye of 200 li. of Tobacco, given me by my Father John Leyford, by his last will and Testament, of wch gifft I acknowlidge myselfe fully sattisfyed & contented. 21 October, 1641. In wittness whereof I have heervnto sett my hand and seale, the day & yeare above written.

hand & seale

In ye presence of Tho: Nicolls & Mordicay Leyford."

"——4, 1642. Be it known vnto all men by these prsents that I Mordicay Lyford, of Hingham in the Bay of Massacusetts in New England, have fully acquited and discharged Edmund Hubberd senior my Step Father, of a legacye of 500 li. of Tobacco, and one cow and one heyfer, given me by my Father Jo: Lyford, of wch gifft I doe acknowlidge myselfe fully sattisfyed & contented. 3 of June 1642 In wittness whereof I have subscribed my hand & sett to my seale the day and year above written.

In ye prsence of Clement Bate, John Beale his X marke."

Five of the most prominent of them we know, soon accepted farms (of their own selection) from the new government, and which they had, no doubt, previously improved on the Cape Anne side of the stream, or, more accurately, at Bass River. Their withdrawal from the nucleus of the town, resulted in part from dissatisfaction engendered by what they regarded as too light an estimate by the new or Massachusetts company of their abilities, rights and improvements, and we believe if the old planters had had some other leader than the virtuous and peaceful Conant, they might have combined with Mr. Oldham and the Gorges, or other conflicting patent to a much greater discomfiture of the powerful and wise, but to them in the outset, somewhat inconsiderate and oppressive government.

The great highway of the first settlers, and their means of travel and conveyance, can be given in one word,—the sea,—for in place of the endless variety of vehicles we now possess, that willing beasts draw, or unwearied steam impels, they had little else than the shallop and canoe. The perils they often encountered, to which their wives and children, their teachers and magistrates were alike exposed, furnish us with melancholy proof of this their evident necessity. It was natural, therefore, for them to explore the indented coast, and locate here and there more or less permanently, as fancy or interest dictated. The inland country was an impenetrable wilderness, full of every description of peril, and its exploration but slowly attempted.

Thus Jeffrey, an active, uneasy spirit, wandered about the coast, settling now at one locality, then at another, appropriating territory to himself, or buying it of some Indian Sachem; and so Tilley and Oldham, in their fishing and trading vessels went hither and thither, as self-interest or the orders of their joint partners directed.

Norman, the elder, soon settled on the Darby fort side, or at Marblehead, and a portion of the inhabitants of that place then part and parcel of the great territory and jurisdiction of Salem, when they had found a minister as counsellor and guide, asked the privilege of settling across the water at Jeffrey Creek, or Manchester, whose sheltered harbour and forest-clad hills skirted in pleasing outline the northern shore. There the Allens and one or more Normans, of the old planters, fixed their final abode. Thus it was, from point to point, island to island, and harbour to harbour, that the country along the coast and up the rivers became settled; here a few fish-flakes, easily constructed from the neighboring woods, and an attendant shallop or two denoted a fishing settlement, and there a few cottages clustering around a house of worship, began a more enduring plantation; thus settlements increased at varied intervals along the great margin of waters.

Upwards of two and one quarter centuries have passed away since Conant and his followers built their humble dwellings on the banks of yonder stream and dropped the first seed in the soil of Massachusetts. Their descendants have since numbered thousands. About eight generations have been born, and have either acted or are now acting their parts upon the same stage of their ancestors early trials, but how varying the scenes witnessed by each. Most of the old planters lived to be aged, and unless they were "inspired by some superior instinct,"* they could hardly have imagined such results as they were privileged to behold ere they fell asleep in the land of their adoption.

What a debt of gratitude do their descendants owe them for the enterprise, foresight and perseverance, that planned and carried through those early projects that have been crowned with such stupendous results.

Inasmuch as we are grateful for what our ancestors have done for us, let us be jealous of their honor, and when with pride we look down the long array of worthies that adorn the history of our Commonwealth, let us not

* Hubbard.

forget the old planters of Naumkeag, struggling to sustain the infant settlement through the dreary winters of 1626 and 27. We, their descendants, can form but a very imperfect idea of the impression that this rude and inhospitable country then presented.

There is, however, one aspect which must forever remain much the same, and the one which was most deeply engraven on the minds of the settlers. If we launch out upon the bosom of the Bay on some pleasant day in June, when the clear sky and sleeping waters blend in one mirror of light, and the air is redolent with the fragrance of young leaves and opening flowers; or, later, under the loftier skies of September, after the atmosphere has been winnowed by the rains of August, and all nature is in her fullness of apparel, we shall see much that greeted the eyes of Winthrop when in the Arbella, he led the fleet of 1630, or that Endicott beheld when he landed here, two years earlier.

How agreeable the contrast presented on these two occasions, compared with the advent of the Leyden Pilgrims at Plymouth ten or twelve years before.

The ocean, with its restless waters, still "throbs its everlasting pulse," and "reflects the eternal mechanism of the skies." The same hills touch the horizon, and similar breezes fan the shore now, as at first witnessed by the storm-tossed Puritans and Pilgrims.

On the north, reposing upon the bosom of the sea, lies Cape Anne, and far down to the south, Cape Cod stretches out her crooked arm over the waters, while between them lies the curving outline of Massachusetts with its rocky coast. Here is the very vestibule of New England,—the gateway through which entered the effective Puritan element of American institutions. Here, at the beginning of the 17th century, it was that Gosnold explored and named the southern boundary—Cape Cod—from the abundance of that fish found in its vicinity. Here Captain Smith, in raptures with the country sailed in and out as he surveyed the coast. Here the Dorchester merchants laded their ships with codfish, beaver skins, clapboards and medicinal roots. Here, near the Southern cape, the Pilgrims of 1620, amid the blasts of winter, cast their lot in the naked wilderness; and near the northern cape at first her offspring, but afteward her rival, sprang the Colony of Massachusetts, which soon outstripped and enfolded her into one.

The forests that everywhere clothed the hill sides, arched the streams, or bordered the sea, and breathed the sweet cadencies of summer winds, or heralded the storms, for centuries—have gone forever, and in their places have arisen our cities and towns, with their temples and seminaries of learning, our factories and workshops, our comfortable abodes and cultivated fields.

The winds that waft seaward our ships to the ends of the earth, murmur with the din of industry and the rumbling of steam cars, that bear the burdens of trade, and thousands of passengers between marts of business and the homes of a happy people, instead of being laden with the war whoop of the savages and the dismal cry of the wolf and the bear.

Here it was that that seed was scattered which the "Lord sifted a nation" to find.—Here was the nursery of civil and religious freedom, which has spread its offspring far and wide over the land, "from the sea on the east, to the sea on the west." The sun that rises from between the capes of Massachusetts till it sets at the golden gate of California, shines upon the joint heritage of the Puritans. Surely then may we thank God that we are their sons, and pray that He may forever save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the union of the States.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF THE CITY OF SALEM.

Copied by Ira J. Patch.

[Continued from page 115.]

Rich'd Crannever & Elizabeth Woolland married by Major William Hathorne, 7th April, '65; son William born ye 27th December, '65; da. Elizabeth borne 13th September, 1668; son Richard, 12th July, 1671; Edward, borne 28th March, 1674.

Isaack Cooke maried to Elizabeth Buxstone 3d May, '64; their daughter Elizabeth, borne 23d September, 1665; son Isaack born ye 9th 11th mo. 1666; theire daughter Mary borne 12th 9th mo. 1668.

Mr Rich'd Croad, his daughter Sara borne by Frances, his wife, ye 3d 12th, '65; theire son William, borne the 9th 12th mo. 1667; daughter Hanna, borne the 14th 9th mo. 1671; son John borne ye 25 12th mo. 1672.

Mr. John Corwin & Margarett Winthrop were married the —— May. 1665; their son George born ye 26th February, 1666; theire dau'r Elizabeth borne ye 28th Aprill, 1668; their daughter Lucy borne the 11th May. 1670; Daughter Hana born ye 4th 2d mo 1672.

Giles Coree maryed to Mary Britz 11th April, '64.

William Curtice, his daughter Elizabeth borne by Alis, his wife, 11th mo. 1668; daughter Hanna borne 6th mo. 1670.

John Cole and Mary Knight were married by Major Wm. Hathorne the 28th May 1667; son John bo 18 May 1668; son Thomas borne in November 1669 and dyed the same year. Mary, borne 1st 7th mo. 1671; Hanna borne 12th 10th mo. 1674.

Venus Collfox maryed to Mary Daye the 20th August 1666; their daughter Elizabeth borne 14th June '67; daughter Mary borne 24th 11th mo '70; Hana borne 7th May, '72, and died 3 months after: son John borne 18th 7th mo. 1674.

George Cockes and Mary Mason were maryd 23d February '67; their son George borne the 24th 9 mo. 1668; James borne the 3d of December, 1670; Mary born 20th June, '72.

Cornelyus Concklin deceased ye 21st March, 1667–68.

Mrs. Elizabeth Corwin ye wife of Capt. George Corwin, deceased ye 15th 7th mo 1668.

Capt. George Corwin and Mrs. Elizabeth Brooks, widow, were married the 22d 7th mo. 1669; theire daughter Penellopee was borne 7th 6th mo '70; daughter Susana borne 10th 10th mo 1672.

Peter Cheevers and Lidda Haly were maried the 19th 2d mo 1669: their sons Peeter and Samuel, being twins, borne the 29th 10th mo. 1678.

Henry Colborne & Sara Golt were maryed 10th mo 1665; their dau. Cristian. borne 25th 10th mo. 1666, and died 1st 6 mo '67; son Henry borne the 26th January, 1667, and dyed 17th 4th mo. '69; Sara borne 21 2 mo. 1671; Johanah borne 20th 7th mo, 1673, and died ye 24th 7th mo. '73: Mary borne the 17th 10th mo. 1674.

Michaell, the son of Michaell Combes, borne by Joane, his wife the 22d March, 1668–9; theire son Joshua borne the 23d 12th mo. 1670.

Thos. Clungen, his daughter Elizabeth borne by Eliza, his wife, in August, 1670.

Mr. Phillip Cromwell and Mary Lemon, widdow, were maried the 19th November, 1674. Dorithy, his former wife, dyed 28th of September, 1673.

Abraham Cole and Sara Davis were maried the 11th of June, 1670; theire son Samuell born 14th May, 1671, and deceased a month after; Daughter Sara borne the 29th of August, 1672; Abraham, born 6th Jan 1674.

Francis Collins, his son William, borne by Hanna, his wife, 9th 7th mo. '69, deceased 9 months after; Abigaile born in October, 1671. Benjamin born 14th May, 1674.

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